



Daily Report

East Europe

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U.S. Accusations Against Bosnian Serbs Reported

LD0802202893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2013
GMT 8 Feb 93

[Text] Geneva, Feb 8 (TANJUG)—The U.S. delegation to the U.N. Human Rights Commission on Monday [8 February] again accused only Bosnian Serbs of violating human rights in Bosnia-Herzegovina, turning a blind eye to an E.C. report which says that all three sides to the Bosnian conflict are guilty of human rights violations.

For the past ten months, Bosnia-Herzegovina has been the scene of a bloody civil, ethnic and religious war which has pitted its Moslems and Catholic Croats against the local Christian Orthodox Serbs. The war was triggered when the Moslem leadership attempted to make Bosnia an Islamic state.

Speaking at a press conference in Geneva, where the U.N. Human Rights Commission opened session on February 1, U.S. Ambassador Kenneth Blackwell rode hard on the Bosnian Serbs' guilt for human rights violations, quoting from the E.C. report that at least 20,000 Moslem women had been raped in Bosnia. He omitted to mention, however, that the report accuses both Moslems and Croats, too, of similar crimes.

The head of the U.S. delegation, Ambassador Richard Shifter, said that the United States was generally interested in the setting up of an international court to try suspected cases of war crimes in former Yugoslavia. He refused, however, to answer the TANJUG reporter's question if an international commission would be set up to investigate crimes committed in Iraq and Vietnam, where thousands of civilians have been killed.

Shifter angrily replied that similar arguments had already been heard from Moscow and Belgrade.

The session of the U.N. Human Rights Commission is due to end on March 12.

The commission's special rapporteur, former Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, is to read his report on human rights violations in former Yugoslavia in a few days.

Security Council Session on Bosnia Postponed

LD0802183793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1823
GMT 8 Feb 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] New York, February 8 (TANJUG)—The United Nations (U.N.) Security Council session at which co-chairmen of the Geneva conference on former Yugoslavia Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen will present a report on talks so far for a peaceful solution to the crisis in former Bosnia-Herzegovina has been postponed from 11:00 hrs to 16:30 local time. The session, which will be held

behind closed doors, will not be attended by representatives of the three warring sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina—Serbs, Croats and Moslems.

Reporters were not told the reasons for the postponement, but it is believed that the co-chairmen will perhaps once more try to persuade the warring side to reach an agreement.

Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic will meet with Russian Ambassador to the U.N. Yuliy Vorontsov at 11:00 hrs local time, to inform him about talks so far and the stands of the Bosnian Serb delegation.

Despite much difficult diplomatic persuasion over the past few days, Vance and Owen failed to persuade Moslems and Serbs to accept their plan in full—representatives of Bosnia-Herzegovina Croats are the only ones who have signed the Geneva document so far.

Under the Vance-Owen peace plan, Bosnia-Herzegovina would be organized as a decentralized federation of three constitutive peoples and divided into ten provinces. Despite opposition from the United States (U.S.), Vance and Owen expect the Security Council to use its authority to persuade Moslems and Serbs to accept the peace agreement.

Karadzic Assesses UN Talks on Bosnia

AU0802211693 Belgrade RTB Television Network in
Serbo-Croatian 1919 GMT 8 Feb 93

["Exclusive" interview with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, by Tatjana Lenard in New York on 8 February—recorded]

[Text] [Lenard] Mr. Karadzic, what is now being planned—that is, what are you going to the Security Council with?

[Karadzic] This is a consultative, informal meeting of the Security Council, which we are not going to attend. However, before the Council's session, we managed to hold some bilateral talks, see some ambassadors of the permanent members of the Security Council, and acquaint them with our position and reasons why we cannot accept the maps of provinces in Bosnia-Herzegovina drafted in this way.

[Lenard] What did they offer you? They offered you new, amended maps that are detrimental to the Serbian side.

[Karadzic] In some small places they are to our advantage. They are simply giving us our territory that they earlier gave to the Croats. We saw on their detailed maps that, for instance, the entire Popovo Polje was offered to the Croats. This alone would have been a sufficient reason to reject the maps. On the new map, they now envisage a narrow and long corridor for Muslims from Srebrenik to Brcko. They did not envisage for us—who hold the bulk of the territory in province number three—a corridor or territory for the Serbian provinces through that province so that the Bosnian and Serbian Krajina in

the former Croatia could have free access to Semberija, Yugoslavia, and, thus, the world because we do not have any other access to the world considering that we live in a hostile surrounding and that this hostile surrounding will probably remain such for a few years after the war.

[Lenard] Do you think that Vance and Owen will offer these maps to the Security Council, regardless of the fact that they did not receive your consent?

[Karadzic] I think that they will. They promised me that they will clearly say that the Serbian side was very cooperative, that the Serbian side had a positive approach, and that it offered several maps. We offered maps that are much more correct in the sense of both geography and economy, maps that are not purely ethnic. We proposed that the entire east Bosnia, from Bijeljina to Trebinje, consist of two or three provinces inhabited by a balanced mixture of Serbs and Muslims. Moreover, province number three must partly or completely belong to the Serbs. Other provinces would also have a mixed population. They would, in any case, ensure economic validity of these provinces and, most importantly, they would ensure a way out of this situation for the Serbs who live in the hostile Croatian-Muslim surrounding.

Vance and Owen also promised that they will say that we offered several maps, and that we finally accept the package if the maps were to be a basis for future negotiations. If the maps were to be definite, we cannot accept them.

[Lenard] So, you would be prepared to accept the earlier package from Geneva provided that the people decide about it themselves, that they decide on whether they accept or reject the maps.

[Karadzic] Maps are a very sensitive issue. We have a war in Yugoslavia and Bosnia-Herzegovina because of Tito's maps. If these maps had been correct, if they had followed either historical or ethnic principles, if they had been drafted in a democratic way, Yugoslavia could have disintegrated—that is, the Slovenes and the Croats could have left Yugoslavia without shedding a drop of blood. Blood was shed because there was violence against the people and their territory and because people are being dragged out of their homeland by force. This is why the blood was shed.

The maps could now be a reason for new wars in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The very moment the maps were presented, the Muslims and Croats, who had previously been allies, started to fight each other in central Bosnia. One should not be naive and not see that the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina is waged for freedom and freedom on these territories—that is, for territorialized freedom and territorialized rights.

[Lenard] The Muslims have neither accepted the maps nor the military solution.

[Karadzic] We think that all this is a game. This suits the Muslims, as it does the Croats. Of course, this suits the Croats best. This is all a game for the Serbian side to accept. After that, the Muslim side would suddenly accept it with some corrections in their favor. This would then be followed by a resolution enforcing this, a resolution that would implement this with the help of foreign armed formations. The Serbian people would find themselves in a mouse trap. Neither Karadzic nor anyone else has the right to do this. Only the people can decide whether they want to remain in the mouse trap or solve the problem in a different way.

We fully understand that from its point of view, Yugoslavia does not have interests in this and that it can accept the plan. We are encouraging them to do so—that is, to support Vance and Owen. However, regarding the maps, it is the sovereign right of the Serbian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina to decide for themselves in which and in what kind of province they want to live.

I must say that if this conference fails, we must return to the beginning, to the inalienable right to self-determination, and our proposal for Bosnia-Herzegovina as a confederation. If this is not acceptable, we will ask the international community to recognize our full independence because we have conditions for this, as well as the right.

I would like to remind our viewers that West Virginia was created in a similar way in which the Serbian Republic was created. When the confederation of Southern states was formed, Virginia wanted to leave the North and join the South. However, the people in western Virginia did not want this and demanded from President Lincoln to allow them to exercise their right to self-determination and create their own state. He did that, and this is how West Virginia was created. Prior to that, Virginia was a single state.

We are not asking the U.S. Administration and the entire world for anything else but what Lincoln gave to West Virginia. In other words, we are asking the entire international community to return to legality, respect international law and the rights of people and individuals, and the problem would then be solved.

[Lenard] How do you envisage the further course of events here in the United Nations in New York after the Security Council session?

[Karadzic] I think that support for Vance and Owen will prevail in the Security Council. With the exception of maps, we would also support this plan. However, what could happen is that a resolution is passed to impose this plan and bind all parties. However, this would be a catastrophe for the United Nations. President Clinton himself said that nothing should be imposed if all three sides are not agreeable. Of course, it is claimed that when he said this he had the Muslims in mind, but what applies to the Muslims must also apply to Serbs.

I simply think that the conference has found itself in an impasse because the maps were drawn completely arbitrarily and completely to the detriment of the Serbian people to the extent that they are absolutely unacceptable.

[Lenard] Thank you, Mr. President.

Delegate Explains Serb Stand on Maps, Peace Plan

AU0802173493 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Interview with Nikola Koljevic, member of the delegation of the Serbian Republic, by Slobodan Jankovic in New York; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Jankovic] Mr. Koljevic, the delegation of the Serbian Republic has not accepted the part of the peace plan dealing with maps. (?Could you explain) why this happened and what was actually offered with the latest maps?

[Koljevic] This primarily happened because new corrections to the maps were sought. A concession was made for the Muslims, according to which a province that encompasses the Cazin Krajina would also include Prijedor. This would go even deeper into Serbian territories, and a corridor created in this way would render communications between the Bosnian Krajina and Semberia with Serbia impossible.

In this way the Bosnian Krajina, not to mention the Republic of Serbian Krajina, would find itself in a Nagorno-Karabakh situation. We simply could not agree to that because we know that our people, that Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Serbian Krajina would be completely cut off from their parent country and they could never forgive us this.

[Jankovic] (?This Monday) in New York is assessed by many people as very important. The Security Council session is about to discuss the results of the Vance-Owen plan. Your delegation is also meeting Russian Ambassador Vorontsov. Could you tell us what your expectations are from these two meetings?

[Koljevic] Regarding the Security Council, our expectations are that, at least, more understanding will be shown before a judgment is passed. There has been very little understanding about our general situation so far, especially regarding the position of Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia. We think the least that will

happen is that differing views will be expressed. This is the minimum we expect from the Security Council session.

Regarding the meeting with the Russian ambassador and representatives of the present day Russia, we hope and have certain assurances that Russia, like Serbs, will not be yielding forever. There is a ceiling, a line of national interests and honor beyond which one cannot go. We expect that the Russians will not ask us to go beyond that line. To be more specific, they can ask us to accept the maps in principle and after that, hold negotiations on them, but nothing more than that.

France's Dumas Proposes UN War Crimes Tribunal

LD0802191493 Paris France-Inter Radio Network in French 1800 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Text] In a French initiative, after consultation with a committee of legal experts, Foreign Minister Roland Dumas is proposing the formation of an international tribunal under the aegis of the United Nations to try the war crimes committed in the former Yugoslavia. Roland Dumas told Luc Lemonnier the following:

[Begin recording] The incidents that will be investigated will date from June 1991 specifically. They are acts that were perpetrated on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. A case can only be brought on an individual basis against officials who can be distinguished as the decision-makers or those executing the decisions.

The committee that is established—which will be the committee carrying out the investigation and taking care of legal proceedings—will have to establish the responsibility of each person. Individuals would be brought before the international court for crimes of repression.

This document is now going to be sent to the United Nations. Therefore, it will be up to the Security Council to create this institution, which does not exist at present. If this court comes into being in the form that the group has suggested—in other words, on the basis of Chapter 7 of the United Nations Charter, which states that the Security Council may take all necessary measures to establish or maintain peace—then the judicial instrument will accompany the other actions that are being undertaken. These include the blue helmets, the embargo, and the current negotiations. The court itself, within the framework of what is being proposed by France, naturally, will contribute to maintaining and restoring peace. [end recording]

Foreign Ministry Questions UN on Embargo*AU0802214293 Sofia BTA in English 1943 GMT
8 Feb 93*

[Text] Sofia, February 8 (BTA)—Bulgaria's Permanent Mission to the UN handed the president of the Security Council a formal note, BTA learnt from the Foreign Ministry spokesperson. In view of improving cooperation between Bulgaria and the world body for a strict observance of the UN sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro on the River Danube, the document poses the following questions:

- In the light of the recent gross violations of UN resolutions by ships transporting oil to Serbia on the Danube, does UN Security Council Resolution 787 give a clear mandate for the use of armed force, and if so, in what cases?
- What is the relation between Paragraph 13 of Resolution 787 and Chapter VII of the UN Charter, regulating the adoption of enforcement measures under UN auspices?
- In case Bulgaria unilaterally takes military action in implementation of the UN Security Council resolutions, what guarantees can the Security Council offer for Bulgaria's security, sovereignty and territorial integrity?
- If enforcement action results in an environmental pollution of the waters, the banks of the River Danube and the Black Sea coast, is part of the international community prepared to assume responsibility and finance a repair of the damage? In such an event, Bulgaria would need extra aid because it would be forced to shut down the Kozloduy nuclear power plant.

The latest incidents involving the Serbian ships showed that there is no effective international mechanism to guarantee the strict observance of Resolution 787, the note says and asks yet another question: What view does the Security Council take of a possible deployment in the Danube delta and on the Bulgarian and Romanian banks of UN forces to enforce the sanctions with a mandate including the use of armed force, as well as the dispatch of unflagged ships with an enforcement mandate, including the use of armed force?

Ex-Premier Lauds Move of UN Troops to Macedonia*AU0502202793 Sofia BTA in English 1739 GMT
5 Feb 93*

[Text] Sofia, February 5 (BTA)—Today ex-Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov was kind to comment before BTA on the presence of blue helmets in Macedonia. The fact that several days ago the UN stationed its units to observe the Macedonian border with Serbia and Albania is the result of Bulgaria's efforts which has been insisting on the taking of this step for almost a year, Mr. Dimitrov

said. On September 18 last year the Bulgarian Government achieved the first stage of the present result—the signing of an agreement with the European Community on the sending of UN observers along the Bulgarian border which was later followed by a decision to send observers along Bulgaria's border with Macedonia, Mr. Dimitrov recalled.

These one-year efforts of the Bulgarian state institutions—the government and the president, were crowned by the sending of blue helmets to Macedonia, Mr. Dimitrov said. The presence of peacekeeping forces in this former Yugoslav republic is a guarantee of stability in the Balkans and considerably decreases the risk of Bulgaria being dragged into a possible war with its neighbours, Mr. Dimitrov added.

Officials Discuss Railroad Project With Macedonia*AU0802174693 Sofia BTA in English 1611 GMT
8 Feb 93*

[Text] Sofia, February 8 (BTA)—According to the commissions of Bulgarian and Macedonian railroad experts, the railway routing connecting Sofia and Skopje, built in 1942, is in good condition, BTA's correspondent reported from Skopje today. The experts' attention was focused on the 50-km long stretch between Beljakovce and Gyueshevo, the stone-clad tunnels were found to be up to the necessary criteria. The realization of the construction project is important not only for the development of transport connections between Bulgaria and Macedonia but for long-distance transport in the Balkans.

According to the mayor of Kyustendil (southwestern Bulgaria), Ivan Gyurginchev, the project for linking the railroad systems of Bulgaria and Macedonia via Kyustendil and Gyueshevo has definitely advantages over the project for linking them via Blagoevgrad. This became clear during the talks on the realization of the project held between Bulgarian and Macedonian transport department officials and experts, BTA's correspondent reported from Kyustendil.

It is pointed out in the protocol on the latest talks of Bulgarian and Macedonian officials in Kumanovo, Macedonia, that "the construction of the railroad is an urgent priority for both countries." The project is aimed not only to connect rapidly the Bulgarian and the Macedonian rail systems but to open a broad east-west corridor for rail transport. The protocol stresses the importance of accelerating the study and the development of the project which would help attract foreign investment.

Four project developments have been made for the construction of a railroad between Gyueshevo and Beljakovce so far.

Greek Party Group Visits, Discusses Yugoslavia

AU0802152693 Sofia BTA in English 1219 GMT
8 Feb 93

[Text] Sofia, February 8 (BTA)—Deputy Prime Minister Evgeni Matinchev and Marin Todorov, chief of staff of the prime minister's office, met here today with representatives of PASOK [Panhellenic Socialist Movement] of Greece, Mr. Papoulias, former foreign minister of the cabinet headed by Papandreou, and Mr. Konstantineas, the cabinet's press office said. The sides exchanged information on the social and the economic situation in the two countries.

Mr. Matinchev expressed his concern, caused by the situation in the Balkans and the war waged very close to the Bulgarian border. He stressed that a peaceful solution must be sought to the Balkan conflict.

Speaking about bilateral relations, Evgeni Matinchev said: "I realize certain problems should be solved but we can rely on our friendship, sincerity and goodwill. Once mutual confidence is restored, the problems will be solved."

Multilateral Balkan cooperation is a guarantee of peace in the Balkans, according to Mr. Papoulias. PASOK has always believed that confidence between Bulgaria and Greece is the most solid basis for Balkan stability, he said, adding that Greece would like to see Balkan countries represented at the European Community and other European forums. When we come to power, Mr. Papoulias said, we will support Bulgaria's initiatives and its aspiration to become integrated into Europe.

Assembly Chairman Assesses Visit to Germany

AU0902104693 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Statement by Aleksandur Yordanov, chairman of the National Assembly, on his return from the official visit of a Bulgarian parliamentary delegation to Germany—live or recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] As we have already announced, Aleksandur Yordanov, chairman of the National Assembly, returned from Germany today, where he was visiting at the invitation of Mrs. Rita Suessmuth, chairman of the Bundestag. He was also received by Federal President Richard von Weizsaecker.

Let us hear how Mr. Yordanov assesses his visits to Bonn and Berlin:

[Yordanov] I would say that this was a very dynamic visit, a visit devoted to numerous talks that touched upon some of our economic problems and our cultural relations with Germany, and last but not least focused on contacts between our two parliaments.

On every occasion we pointed out the necessity of intensifying German investments in Bulgaria and at the

same time we never failed to stress, on such occasions, that Bulgaria is developing in an atmosphere of stability and internal security.

In talking to the chairmen of the parliamentary groups in the German Bundestag we had the opportunity to update our impressions on political developments in Germany, and we had the opportunity to observe closely the activities of the German Bundestag, which is an institution with longstanding traditions.

We also discussed several questions, such as the establishment of contacts between individual parties. We submitted an invitation for German parliamentarians to visit Bulgaria.

We repeated Dr. Zhelev's invitation to Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl to visit Bulgaria.

Several German parliamentarians are scheduled to visit our country, as a matter of fact, and in the near future we are expecting delegations, headed by the chairmen of the economic and legal Bundestag commissions.

In Berlin I had the opportunity to meet representatives of business circles from the largest Berlin district, namely Spandau.

A delegation of German industrialists is expected to visit Bulgaria as soon as at the end of February or the beginning of March to study on the spot the possibilities of investments in our country.

Muslim Cleric Defends Report on Mercenaries

AU0802135993 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian
4 Feb 93 p 3

[Interview with Dr. Nedim Gendzhev, former Bulgarian chief mufti, deputy chairman of the European Muslim Union, by Gabriela Nikolova; place and date not given: "Bulgarian Mercenaries in Bosnia Are Hiding From the Serb Authorities and Have False Passports, Dr. Nedim Gendzhev Claims"]

[Excerpts] [Nikolova] Dr. Gendzhev, your announcement on the participation of Bulgarian volunteers on the side of the Serbian Chetniks of Radovan Karadzic in Bosnia provoked various reactions. Did you inform the official institutions about what you know?

[Gendzhev] I sent declarations to the Presidency and the Council of Ministers. Their fax numbers are 803418 and 881759. I warned those institutions that I meant mercenaries and volunteers, who are hiding even from the Serbian authorities. Their names have been changed and they have been issued false passports. When all the evidence is collected, it will be handed over to the relevant UN and EC bodies. However, this evidence must be collected in an exceptionally careful and precise manner.

[Nikolova] What reaction do you expect from the government?

[Gendzhev] It is necessary to develop a publicity campaign. The cabinet must warn the volunteers to withdraw. If there are parents who know that their children are there, they must do everything possible for their return. Nothing remains secret in this world. The mercenaries must be threatened with legal consequences.

[Nikolova] How long have you had information about Bulgarian mercenaries in Bosnia and why have you decided to publish the facts now?

[Gendzhev] The European Muslim Union has had information for one month about Bulgarians and Russians fighting for the Serbs in Bosnia. We instructed a representative of ours to make a thorough study of the matter. The number of mercenaries is being investigated. We are publishing the information now because we are concerned with the change in the geopolitical balance which has begun in the Balkans. The Russian influence has strengthened incredibly. [passage omitted]

[Nikolova] Are you disturbed by Dr. Berov's position?

[Gendzhev] I do not know what prompts Bulgarian politicians to avoid contact with Muslim states and to demonstrate a pro-Greek orientation. We are especially concerned with this pro-Greek orientation because of the activity of the Greek lobby in Washington. Because of all this, we could find ourselves in a confrontation with the Republic of Turkey, which is the only country in the Balkans that does not have territorial claims on Bulgaria.

[Nikolova] Dr. Gendzhev, I have the impression that you are trying to influence the cabinet's foreign policy. Why are you doing this?

[Gendzhev] The political situation in the Balkans is especially dangerous. For us to have a lasting association with the Belgrade-Athens geopolitical axis which is under construction, and with geopolitical alliances in general, could only lead us to a crisis. It threatens not only the Muslims but also the Christians. We must not forget that Bulgaria is not a NATO member, and that the Warsaw Pact does not exist any longer. Until now Dr. Zhelev has defended a balanced foreign policy line, which guaranteed our neutrality. As a Muslim I am concerned with the ethnic purge of the Balkans, something which could eventually result in a war. [passage omitted]

Christian Democratic Union Changes Leadership

AU0702204293 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 7 Feb 93

[Text] The general assembly of the Christian Democratic Union within the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] ended today in Sofia.

According to personnel changes, Mr. Pavel Shopov was ousted from the national leadership, while Mr. Stefan Karadzhov resigned as chairman of the national leadership.

The central leadership was expanded by adding eight new members from various regions of the country.

The general assembly of the Christian Democratic Union adopted a resolution that expresses nonconfidence in the intentions and possibilities of Professor Lyuben Berov's cabinet because of the unclear political support in the National Assembly.

According to the general assembly, this cabinet is not able to implement the SDS program with the support of the Bulgarian Socialist Party and the mandate of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms.

Defense Minister, BSP Discuss Military Matters

AU0802162793 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 3 Feb 93 p 1

[Report by Major Spirdon Spirdonov: "The Defense Minister and Representatives of the Bulgarian Socialist Party Discussed the Future of the Army"]

[Text] The minister of defense and the chief of the Armed Forces' General Staff discussed specific problems of the Bulgarian Army and national security issues with representatives of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]. Eight BSP deputies (half of them are colonels in the reserve), members of the Parliamentary Commission on National Security, accepted Minister Valentin Aleksandrov's invitation to attend a briefing on his views on the further leadership of the Army.

At its 29 January session, the Supreme Military Council discussed a few questions on which the minister informed his guests. A working group in charge of coordinating the activities of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with those of the Defense Ministry was established. A second group is in charge of drafting some legal mechanisms for combating breaches of law and discipline within the soldiers' collectives. An order is expected to be issued for sergeants and petty officers who have successfully passed the officers' test authorizing them to assume the command of platoons and companies. A total of 22,000 sergeants and petty officers will probably have this opportunity by the end of 1993. This practice is also applied in other European armies. The minister once more expressed his view that the depoliticization process in the Armed Forces should by no means turn into a form of anticommunism. We cannot accuse a captain for having been a member of the Bulgarian Communist Party, he said. The leadership of the Defense Ministry shall pursue its policy of preventing all kinds of party influences in the Army.

Dimitur Yonchev, on behalf of the BSP and its parliamentary coalition, expressed the hope that relations with the Ministry of Defense would further expand. It is not only a question of discussing the bill on defense and the Armed Forces, but important problems, such as the type of future Army, its size, military budget, existence of an "Armed Forces" institution, social status of Army personnel, requirement for a more flexible system of

indexing wages, training of military cadres, need for greater transparency regarding breaches of discipline, and the already emerging trends of illegally taking possession of Army property in the process of privatization.

Army General Lyuben Petrov, chief of the General Staff, answered questions about the modernization of the Army and the military budget raised by Miroslav Durmov, Stoycho Peychev, and other BSP members. The chief of staff pointed out that only within the next two to three years would it be realistic to talk about new armaments and technical equipment. The ministry would have needed a budget amounting to 29 billion leva for 1993, but in view of the country's difficult financial situation, the ministry reduced the amount to 16 billion leva, which is the absolute limit. The amount is required for material-technical supplies only, while wage increases have not been envisaged yet, the general specified. The wages of military personnel have not been updated since 1 July 1992. For precisely this reason, Army General Petrov and Minister Aleksandrov refused to accept additional bonuses due to them for the last three months. As far as the deadlines for the Army's restructuring and redeployment of military units are concerned, the chief of the General Staff answered that the lack of a legal basis and the unresolved social problems required a certain restraint. We demand additional budgetary means for guaranteeing the redeployment, he pointed out.

The minister of defense briefed the guests on his views on the rotation of officer cadres in response to a question from Nikolay Dobrev. The minister's stand is still theoretical, but it will be included in the new code of regulations for promotions to the officers' rank. Nevertheless, some of the principles concerning this matter were mentioned. An officer should not be transferred to more than three to four garrisons throughout his career, for example. An officer's record in military school should be taken into consideration for his future posting. Thus, for example, one should find an appropriate method of doing away with the deplorable tradition that one officer should serve all his life in a godforsaken border village, while the other can leisurely stroll along Sofia's main avenues.

At the end of the meeting, Defense Minister Valentin Aleksandrov and Krasimir Premyanov, member of the BSP Supreme Council's Executive Bureau, expressed their satisfaction with the talks and the hope of further intensifying mutual relations. Toshko Mukhtanov even presented the minister with a paper containing proposals on improving relations between the Army and defense industry.

Commentary Examines New Arms Trade Policy

AU0802114293 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian
5 Feb 93 p 6

[Commentary by Vladimir Dvoretzki: "A Breath of Air for the Military-Industrial Complex"]

[Text] With its decision to accelerate and improve the work of the Governmental Commission on Regulating and Controlling the Regime of Producing and Trading With Military and Special Production (who knows why this long name has not yet been shortened?), the Council of Ministers gave some hope to the desperate arms producers that the fruits of their labors will no longer remained covered with cobwebs in the warehouses. However, it must be proven that the permits to market those goods abroad will not be given on the basis of friendly or other relations, as was often the case in the past.

The new policy of Berov's cabinet in the sphere of arms trade will apparently allow the military-industrial complex to get a breath of air. It would be naive to believe that the export of the "special goods" will in itself save us from the crisis. The "hotbeds" all over the world, where such goods are sought after, have the unpleasant tendency to attract UN embargos. If we would not like the world public to brand Bulgaria as a state-merchant of death, we must quickly think about a prudent conversion.

Ex-Finance Minister Views Banking Reform

AU0802144093 Sofia BTA in English 1215 GMT
8 Feb 93

[“The Basic Conflicts Emerged in the Struggle for Financial Stabilization, Ex-Finance Minister Claims”—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 8 (BTA)—The main conflicts of our government emerged in the struggle for financial stabilization, ex-Finance Minister Ivan Kostov claims in the latest, fourth, installment of his extensive article headlined “The Economic Legacy of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] Government” published in DEMOKRATSIYA. Today's installment dwells in detail on the problems in the financial sphere. Under the National Bank of Bulgaria Act, passed in June 1991, the central bank is to perform two incompatible functions in the management and control of banking and the credit and foreign exchange markets. This act grants excessive autonomy to the governing board of the central bank which may spring unpleasant surprises, Mr. Kostov believes.

According to the ex-finance minister, the banking reform, which entered its decisive stage with the passing of the Banking and Crediting Act in 1992, was not planned carefully enough and was not synchronized with general financial stabilization. Its fundamental weakness lies in the considerable powers and independence of the banks, provided for by the law on the one hand, and the lack of supervision and regulation mechanisms, on the other. Banking supervision and regulation rules have not come into force yet. This actually means that since 1989 state banks have been carrying out their activities relying

solely on the honesty and integrity of their managements. And many bank managements are lacking these merits, according to Mr. Kostov.

The discontinuation of central planning and management of state-owned and cooperative enterprises at the beginning of 1991 resulted in the formation of a strong centre of economic power outside the executive because the government retained only limited control over financial resources, the greater part of this control being transferred to the National Bank of Bulgaria and the commercial banks, Mr. Kostov writes. The cabinet proved incapable of ruling the bank sphere because of its restricted constitutional powers after the passing of the National Bank of Bulgaria Act and the Banking and Crediting Act, Mr. Kostov adds.

The establishment of a bank consolidation company was the only possibility for exercising some control over the banking sphere. However, the government's active policy in consolidation was blocked because of the forced resignation of cabinet ministers from the governing board of the company under the pressure of "public opinion," the ex-finance minister writes.

Mr. Kostov also dwells on the problem of the company's bad debts to the banks and on the mechanisms of its solution. Our wish was to ease the pressure on companies which became insolvent because of their grave financial state, he writes. "We wanted to open this door to survival and then close it once and for all."

In some cases, however, bad debts were reduced through their transformation into public debts which greatly burdened the national budget. According to Mr. Kostov, this problem was further aggravated by the expected considerable increase in public debt which would place it in an unfavourable proportion to the gross domestic product and the budget revenues and would greatly increase the share of budget expenditures on its servicing. Mr. Kostov also mentions some other negative consequences of this operation: The freeing of company managements from the responsibility for their economic decisions, invalidation of the effect of market mechanisms on the state-owned enterprises, transformation of the debts regardless of the concrete situation, etc. This determined the government's restrictions in approving the transformation of corporate debts into public ones, according to Mr. Kostov.

The government of the SDS succeeded, to a great extent, in controlling the progress of the banking reform, in solving the problem with bad credits and in preparing and implementing the National Budget Act, in managing the public debt and in achieving general financial stabilization, Mr. Kostov claims.

Settlements of Foreign Debts to Trade Firm Sought

*AU0802213893 Sofia BTA in English 2024 GMT
8 Feb 93*

[Text] Sofia, February 8 (BTA)—By April 30, 1993 a working group comprising representatives of several ministries should work out a proposal for the settlement of foreign companies' debts to Bulgargeomin and for the company's future activity, the Council of Ministers decided today. The cabinet recommended that the Sofia-based bank for agricultural credits grant a loan of 3,050,000 U.S. dollars to Bulgargeomin which the latter would use to pay its workers and employees their wages. The loan will be guaranteed by the government, the Council of Ministers' Press Service announced.

After September 1991, when Libya suspended the deliveries of crude oil supplied in return for services rendered by Bulgarian engineering organizations, Bulgargeomin found itself in poor financial circumstances, it is said in the report presented by Minister of Industry Rumen Bikov. Libya, Nicaragua, Syria, Iraq and some other countries owe Bulgargeomin a total of 30,080,000 U.S. dollars which has actually made the company insolvent. By the end of last year Bulgargeomin owed 25,107,000 U.S. dollars to Bulgarian and foreign companies, 3,294,000 dollars of the money is due to Bulgargeomin's own employees, Minister Bikov said in his report.

Government Seeks To Accelerate Privatization

*AU0802193493 Sofia BTA in English 1836 GMT
8 Feb 93*

[Excerpt] Sofia, February 8 (BTA)—At today's sitting the Council of Ministers granted the right to privatization of units valued below 10 million leva to the committees of tourism, of power engineering, of youth and sports, of forests, of post offices and telecommunications, of geology and mineral resources and of standardization and metrology, the ministries of labor and social affairs, of science, education and culture, of agriculture, of regional development and construction and of health care were granted the same right. According to Aleksandur Bozhkov, the executive director of the Privatization Agency, the decision will accelerate the process of privatization because the Council of Ministers will not have to pronounce itself on every decision for the privatization of units controlled by the above-mentioned institutions.

The government decided to set up a working group comprising Deputy Prime Minister Valentin Karabashev, Finance Minister Stoyan Aleksandrov, Minister of Justice Misho Vulchev and representatives of the Privatization Agency and of the leading banks, which will draft a document regulating the participation of banks in the privatization. The provisions contained in the privatization act do not regulate the problem, Mr. Bozhkov specified. The greatest difficulty is how to settle enterprises' debts to the banks when they go private. [passage omitted]

Havel on Cooperation Between President, Government

LD0802150893 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1200 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Text] President Vaclav Havel gave his second press briefing at Prague Castle today. Eva Hulkova reports:

Vaclav Havel said, among other things, that in addition to its service departments, the president's office headed by Lubos Dobrovsky will have two key areas: First, the domestic policy department, whose head has not yet been appointed; and second, the foreign policy department led by the historian Pavel (Sajstr).

President Havel also stated that this week he will hold talks with coalition parties' representatives, and on Wednesday [10 February] will attend a session of the government. The purpose of the meeting will be to clarify the relationships between the president and the government, and between the president and parliament. Havel said that in countries where the principle of presidential countersignature is in force, such relations have been formed over a long period. However conditions in the Czech Republic require this to be speeded up. Vaclav Havel thinks these relations could well be set out within a month. He said he cannot see how a political system can be stable without good cooperation.

Klaus Meets Ministers To Discuss Romany Problem

AU0802153693 Prague CTK in English 2153 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Text] Prague, Feb 5 (CTK)—Five Czech ministers and the prosecutor general will meet in an extraordinary session on Monday, February 8 to discuss the Romany issue.

The session was convened today by Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus after his meeting with representatives of the Romany petitions committee for the protection of the rights of ethnic minorities.

In a petition they gave to Klaus and Czech parliament Chamber of Deputies [chairman] Milan Uhde, the Romanies demand the observance of the outlawing of fascist and racist groups in the Czech Republic.

They warn that unless their demands are met, they will declare civic disobedience and set up illegal combat groups targeting racist groups.

At the Monday meeting, I want to discuss with the ministers a number of suggestions and to find a solution to existing problems, Klaus said.

He indicated that the discussion will also cover the law on awarding state citizenship after the split of Czechoslovakia, which the Romanies think discriminates against them.

To introduce double citizenship for the Romanies is naturally out of the question. This would be at variance with the legal order of the Czech Republic, Klaus said. But he conceded that some slight adjustments might be done.

About 800,000 Romanies are estimated to live on the territory of the former Czechoslovakia, a majority of them in the Slovak Republic. As they often move between the Czech and Slovak Republics, they are interested in having both Czech and Slovak citizenships. In connection with the split of the Czechoslovak federation as of January 1, 1993, the Czech Republic introduced the system of one citizenship only.

With the crime rate high among the Romanies, they are also displeased that the Czech Republic requires a clean record for five consecutive years as a condition for granting its citizenship. They demand that the five-year period start to be counted only since the amnesty declared in 1990 by the then Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel.

Klaus rejected the Romanies' claim that by its silence, the government approves of the skinheads' anti-Romany actions.

In the petition, the Romanies said the patience of the Romany population has been exhausted by the skinhead action in Pardubice. To defend our families, we must resort to pressure actions to make the government and parliament deal with the situation with all seriousness and responsibility.

In Pardubice, east Bohemia, on Saturday January 30, some 300 skinheads from all over the Czech Republic gathered to protest the death of one of their own, killed in the city last December by a shot fired from a Romany-inhabited house.

The skinheads chanted racist slogans, demolished one Romany flat and beat several Romanies.

After the meeting with Klaus, Miroslav Rusenko, chairman of the Romany Association of Youth and Children, said he was satisfied with the talks, and announced that the hunger strike planned by five Romanies for Monday, February 8 has been suspended for the time being.

Charter 77 To Divide Prague, Bratislava Bases

LD0802213093 Prague CTK in English 2102 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Text] Prague, Feb 8 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Charter 77 foundation has been divided into independent Czech and Slovak foundations, to be based in Prague and Bratislava.

The executive council of the foundation also decided that Frantisek Janouch will continue to chair the Czech Charter 77 foundation.

The Czechoslovak Charter 77 foundation was set up in 1989 as a branch of the initial Stockholm-based Charter 77 foundation, which in 1978 started to provide assistance to Czechoslovak dissidents and democratic groups in their struggle against the then communist regime.

Since its establishment, the Czechoslovak foundation has initiated several projects aimed to turn Czechoslovakia into a modern, free, democratic and prosperous state. It helped establish the Central European University in Prague in 1990 as an educational and research centre for students from East European countries.

The foundation also helped establish a top-level neurological centre at Prague Na Homolce hospital in 1991, as the first centre of its kind in central Europe. It is equipped with a leksell gamma knife, which is used for treatment of inoperable brain tumours.

The gamma knife has been bought from a Swedish firm on money collected in a drive initiated by the Charter 77 foundation. The total cost of the equipment was 90 million crowns (about 3 million USD [U.S. dollars]). About 36 patients have already been treated by the gamma knife.

Parliament Approves Agreement on Payments

LD0502132893 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1300 GMT 5 Feb 93

[Excerpt] At the beginning of this bulletin we will have a look inside the Czech parliament. Daniel Takac reports:

The only point on the agenda today was the payments agreement between the Czech and Slovak Republics and the treaty on the application of national currencies in the sphere of mutual tourism. I intentionally use the past tense because the Chamber of Deputies has given approval to both agreements and the session is over. [passage omitted]

Payments Treaty Published

AU0802165293 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 5 Feb 93 p 3

["Payments Treaty Between the Czech and Slovak Republics" signed by Czech Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik and Slovak Finance Minister Julius Toth in Prague on 4 February]

[Text] The Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic, motivated by their desire to regulate payment relations between the two states and by their desire to support the development of mutual relations on the basis of equality and bilateral expediency, have agreed on the following:

Article 1

All mutual payments between physical or legal persons with permanent residence or place of business in the Czech Republic and physical or legal persons with permanent residence or place of business in the Slovak

Republic (hereafter referred to as "entities") shall be conducted—with the exception of the payments outlined in Articles 2 and 3 of this treaty—via a form of clearing.

The unit of settlement for clearing between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic (hereafter referred to as the "contracting parties") is the European Currency Unit (hereafter referred to as the "clearing ECU").

Article 2

Payments for goods and services purchased by an entity of one of the contracting parties in a third country and sold to an entity from the other contracting party—without making a subsequent alteration or modification to the intrinsic quality of the goods and services supplied—shall be made in freely convertible currencies, unless something else is necessitated by another agreement to which the two contracting parties are bound.

Article 3

Payments for outstanding claims and obligations between legal persons or physical persons—businessmen with permanent residence or place of business in the Czech Republic—and legal persons or physical persons—businessmen with permanent residence or place of business in the Slovak Republic—incurred prior to 8 February 1993 shall be made in harmony with the Protocol Between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic on the Payment Arrangement for Mutual Outstanding Claims and Obligations Between Legal Persons and Physical Persons-Businessmen Incurred Prior to 8 February 1993, a protocol that is an indelible part of this treaty.

The payment settlement for the Czech National Bank's outstanding claims against the National Bank of Slovakia—incurred by virtue of the division of the former Czechoslovak State Bank's balance—shall be dealt with by a separate agreement.

Article 4

The sale of money in the national currencies of the contracting parties for private and business trips by physical persons to the territory of the other contracting party and the disposal of this money shall be regulated by a treaty between the contracting parties.

Article 5

Payment settlements shall be carried out on the Czech side via the Czech National Bank and on the Slovak side via the National Bank of Slovakia. The Czech National Bank and the National Bank of Slovakia shall open accounts for this purpose in clearing ECU's, accounts administered without charges and commissions.

The Czech National Bank and the National Bank of Slovakia shall conclude a treaty on the coordination of and technical provisions for payment relations.

Article 6

The contracting parties shall grant each other marginal credit on accounts opened in accordance with Article 5 at an interest rate of 5.0 percent per annum.

Marginal credit is fixed at 130 million clearing ECU's. The amount of marginal credit may be adjusted by agreement between the governments of the contracting parties.

Interest of 10 percent per annum shall be paid on amounts exceeding the credit margin.

The debtor is obliged to settle the amount exceeding the credit margin on the last day of each calendar month by making a payment in a freely convertible currency-ECU (hereafter referred to as "ECU") before the 15th day of the succeeding month. An exchange rate of 1 clearing ECU to 1 ECU shall be used for this purpose.

If the amount exceeding the credit margin is not settled on this date, interest of 15 percent per annum shall be paid starting on the 16th day.

In the event that repayment of the amount exceeding the credit margin is delayed twice in succession, the governments of the contracting parties shall immediately agree on settling the amount owed.

Article 7

The exchange rate of the contracting parties' national currencies against the clearing ECU shall be derived from the exchange rate of the contracting parties' national currencies against the ECU, a rate fixed independently by the Czech National Bank and the National Bank of Slovakia. The contracting parties shall commit themselves to adopting measures ensuring that the deviation between the clearing ECU exchange rate and the ECU does not exceed plus or minus 5.0 percent. If maintaining this deviation were to jeopardize the fundamental economic interests of one of the contracting parties, the governments of the contracting parties shall immediately initiate negotiations on dealing with the situation.

Article 8

The balance between the mutual accounts administered by the Czech National Bank and the National Bank of Slovakia shall—after the treaty expires—be settled by the debtor within six months by supplies of goods and services or by implementing other payments.

If the balance between the mutual accounts is not fully settled when these six months have expired, the governments of the contracting parties shall immediately agree to settle the amounts owed.

Other outstanding claims and obligations incurred due to the implementation of this treaty shall be converted

from clearing ECU's to ECU's—or, as the case may be, to another freely convertible currency—in accordance with an agreement between the appropriate entities of the contracting parties.

Article 9

This treaty may only be altered with the contracting parties' agreement on the basis of a written request from one of them.

Article 10

The contracting parties' Finance Ministries, the Czech National Bank, and the National Bank of Slovakia shall be empowered—for the purpose of implementing this treaty—to make, following a mutual agreement, an arrangement different from the foreign currency regulations valid on the territory of the contracting parties.

The treaty shall come into effect on the date diplomatic notes confirming its approval are exchanged in harmony with the constitutional course of action pursued by the appropriate state, and will be valid until 31 December 1993 unless the contracting parties agree to terminate it at an earlier date.

After 31 December 1993 the treaty's validity shall be extended indefinitely with the proviso that it may be revoked by means of a written statement submitted by one of the contracting parties to the other contracting party no later than three months prior to the treaty's proposed expiry date.

Set down in Prague on 4 February in two copies, one in Czech and one in Slovak, both versions being equally valid.

For the Czech Republic:

Ivan Kocarnik

For the Slovak Republic:

Julius Toth

Tosovsky Forecasts Trade Decline With Slovakia

LD0802222493 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 2100 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Text] Josef Tosovsky, governor of the Czech National Bank, appearing on Czech television news, said that trade between the Czech and Slovak republics could drop by as much as 30 percent. He added that shortages of freely convertible currency in Slovakia, together with the settling of a possible deficit in mutual trade, could lead to reduced trade. He went on to say that it is expected that the Czech side's balance will be in credit. The 30 percent reduction in trade will amount to a drop in Czech exports to Slovakia by approximately 30 billion koruny, he said. However, the governor pointed out that the exact volume of trade between the two countries is not known [words indistinct] of the so-called clearing system of trade, applied on the basis of the payments agreement.

Premier's Adviser on U.S. Interest in Balkans*LD0802202593 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1900 GMT 8 Feb 93*

[Text] There is no decision yet concerning the Hungarian proposal that Budapest should be the scene of the first Yeltsin-Clinton summit. This was stated by Gyula Kodolanyi, foreign policy adviser to the prime minister, on returning from his eight-day visit to the United States. He gave an exclusive interview to television on Hungarian-U.S. relations.

[Begin recording] [Reporter] It was common knowledge that the Hungarian government had very good relations with the Bush Administration; to what extent is it possible to have these relations carried on by the Clinton team?

[Kodolanyi] Look, this is not a party political question, either in the United States or in Hungary. For Hungary what is important is that the leaders of U.S. foreign policy should be persons who regard this region as important and who know it. It is my impression and my judgement that this is the case, and it is even possible that they know the region better.

[Reporter] In his election campaign Clinton promised to pay even more lively attention to foreign policy. What weight is attached there to Yugoslav events?

[Kodolanyi] This is exactly the point, that while Clinton would like to take a few spectacular economic steps, he is also forced to pay attention to the question of Yugoslavia. So I can say that except for the problem of Yugoslavia, and of course the Yeltsin summit, at the present moment U.S. foreign policy cannot pay attention to any other foreign policy questions.

Clinton would like to take steps over the question of Bosnia as soon as possible. Now I feel they are giving a period of grace to the Vance-Owen plan. On the Yugoslav question we dealt in very great detail with all those issues which do or could also concern Hungary in this whole package of problems, from the tightening of the embargo, which in certain forms Hungary could not vote for in the Security Council, to the position of the Magyars in the Vojvodina, and the whole question of our security, if the military situation in Yugoslavia becomes more intense. [end recording]

Talks With Slovakia on Danube Dam Issue Fail*AU0802145893 Budapest MTI in English 2052 GMT 4 Feb 93*

[Text] Budapest, 4 February (MTI)—No compromise was reached at talks with Slovak experts in Budapest on Thursday [4 February] as to how much of the water output will be returned by Slovakia into the original Danube bed at Rajka in northern Hungary. The Hungarian side would have been ready to accept the European Community's compromise proposal instead of the 95 percent provided by the London agreement. The EC

proposal is for 50 percent of the water output to be returned in winter, and 60-80 percent in summer, depending on water quantity. Journalists learnt this from the heads of Hungarian expert delegations following the talks at the Foreign Ministry on Thursday evening.

The Hungarian side expected the Slovaks to come up with suggestions starting from the EC compromise. Instead, the Slovaks offered to return 25-30 percent of the water quantity, totally unacceptable to Hungary in view of the related damage to nature and agriculture, and to build bottom sills at Szigetkoz. Although the bottom sills are suitable to raise water levels in Szigetkoz also in the case of a smaller water quantity, the slowing stream would lead to the deposition of pollutants.

A new legal problem was the lack of agreement between the Czech and Slovak Republics over appearance before the International Court of Justice. Hungary would agree to go to The Hague either with Slovakia alone, or with the Slovak and Czech Republics together.

After abortive expert talks, many doubt the planned meeting between Hungarian and Slovak Foreign Ministry state secretaries can take place in Brussels on February 9 with EC participation.

Kazakh Prime Minister Meets Antall, Goncz*LD0802124293 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 8 Feb 93*

[From the "Midday Chronicle" program]

[Excerpts] Kazakhstan Prime Minister Sergey Tereshchenko has arrived in Hungary for a three-day working visit. The prime minister of Kazakhstan met this morning with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall and President Arpad Goncz. Istvan Kulcsar reports on today's program of the delegation:

[Kulcsar] [passage omitted] At 1015 hours, Prime Minister Jozsef Antall and several government members began negotiations with the Kazakh guests in the National Assembly building.

In his introduction, Jozsef Antall expounded that the CIS countries—including Kazakhstan, whose economic potential is well known in Hungary—continue to have an important place in Hungary's foreign relations and foreign trade links.

Shortly before the start of the "Midday Chronicle," in the Delegation Hall of the National Assembly, Jozsef Antall and Sergey Tereshchenko signed an inter-government declaration about Hungarian-Kazakh relations.

Then the two countries' foreign trade ministers, Bela Kadar and Daulet Izteleuov, signed this year's foreign trade protocol. This envisages a significant increase in last year's turnover, which amounted to approximately \$66 million. It is planned, among other things, to build a

Hungarian computer factory and television assembly plant in Kazakhstan, and possibly to deliver Ikarus buses in return for raw materials.

Minister of Agriculture Elemer Gergatz and his Kazakh colleague Baltash Tursumbayev signed a cooperation protocol, which envisages among other things that the Babolna corn cultivation system—which has been successfully tested in Kazakhstan on 3,200 hectares—will be extended over a significantly larger area.

At the time of the "Midday Chronicle," Prime Minister Tereshchenko was paying a courtesy visit on President Arpad Goncz.

Signs Cooperation Agreements

*LD0802175393 Budapest MTI in English 1633 GMT
8 Feb 93*

[Text] Budapest, February 8 (MTI)—As reported, a political statement on agreement and cooperation between the Hungarian and the Kazakh Governments was signed in Parliament on Monday [8 February], by Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall and Kazakh Prime Minister Sergey Tereshchenko. Agreements on Hungarian-Kazakh trade and agriculture were also signed in the presence of the prime ministers.

The prime ministers spoke briefly about bilateral cooperation. Sergey Tereshchenko stressed Kazakhstan wishes to develop links with Hungary in all walks of economic and cultural life. Jozsef Antall said Hungary looks upon Kazakhstan as a base in the middle of Eurasia. The current talks prove that Kazakhstan also attaches major importance to its relations with Hungary.

Antall proposed to set up a joint committee to coordinate cooperation between the economic branches and as regards cultural relations. The prime minister added Hungary wishes to maintain good relations with all peoples living in Kazakhstan.

Foreign affairs spokesman Janos Herman, reporting on the Hungarian-Kazakh prime ministerial plenary talks, said Hungary considers it important to foster relations with the countries in the Commonwealth of Independent States, among which it attaches special importance to relations with Kazakhstan.

In this spirit, Hungary was among the first to recognise the independent Kazakhstan. Political relations have developed steadily since. A major stage in this development is the current visit of Sergey Tereshchenko, and Hungary hopes to welcome Kazakh President Nazarbayev in Budapest this year too.

In answer to MTI's question, foreign affairs spokesman Herman said the Hungarian Foreign Ministry is examining the possibility of opening a Hungarian Embassy in the Central Asian region. Alma-Ata is the number one candidate for headquarters of the mission.

Although the idea of opening an embassy was not raised at the current talks, discussions were held about the need to exchange ambassadors as soon as possible between the two countries.

Foreign Ministers Hold Talks

*LD0802193093 Budapest MTI in English 1907 GMT
8 Feb 93*

[Text] Budapest, February 8 (MTI)—Foreign Ministers Geza Jeszenszky of Hungary and Tuleutai Suleymenov of Kazakhstan agreed that the two countries would reciprocally set up diplomatic representations, to see to regional issues.

Also in the course of the foreign ministerial talks on Monday [8 February], Suleymenov invited Jeszenszky for a visit to the Kazakh Republic.

Suleymenov is accompanying the Kazakh prime minister, Sergey Tereshchenko, on an official visit to Budapest.

The spokesman of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, Janos Herman, told MTI the foreign ministers had reviewed bilateral working relations, and current international issues.

The foreign ministers had held talks earlier, at the special ministerial conference of the Council of Europe in Istanbul on September 10, 1992. However, this is the first time that the foreign minister of Kazakhstan has visited Hungary.

During the meeting, Suleymenov gave a detailed report about the operation of and the diplomatic plans of the Kazakh Foreign Ministry. The Hungarian side promised to contribute to the training of Kazakh diplomats by taking scholarship-holders.

Polish Official Urges Increased Economic Ties

*AU0802151393 Budapest MTI in English 1848 GMT
4 Feb 93*

[Text] Budapest, 4 February (MTI)—Hungary and Poland must strive to carry out political and economic change as fast as possible. This is equally vital in view of the sharp fall in bilateral trade in recent years. Goods trade lags far behind potential even today. At the same time, the initial results of transformation are beginning to show. Both countries have economic chambers independent of governments and parliaments, stimulating markets. Thanks partly to their work, almost a third of trade is already conducted by private companies. All in all, it seems that everything is on the right course, Polish Senate President August Chelkowski told journalists in Budapest on Thursday [4 February].

Answering a question from MTI, Chelkowski said that the Visegrad cooperation scheme involving the Czech and Slovak Republics, Hungary, and Poland, was widely covered by his discussions. The senate president was

optimistic about the group's future. He said the members' similar economic, cultural, and scientific level made it desirable to develop cooperation in mutually advantageous areas. Warsaw believes that this would promote their efforts at integrating into European organizations.

Chelkowski thought that certain statements by Czech leaders gave no cause for worry in connection with the future of the Visegrad group. He recalled that Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus had also toned down his earlier rhetoric.

The Polish politician was of the view that every country had the right to try for EC membership. The main point for the members of the Visegrad group is to join forces towards this end, instead of competing with each other. The EC will also consider the Visegrad countries to be a better partner if they reach a certain level of cooperation with each other, Chelkowski said. He took a stand for maintaining the quadrilateral setup comprising Poland, Hungary, and the Czech and Slovak republics.

The Polish delegation led by Chelkowski on Thursday met members from the Hungarian-Polish friendship section of the Inter-Parliamentary Union.

Foreign Investment Reached \$1.5 Billion in 1992

LD0902092393 Budapest MTI in English 0754 GMT 9 Feb 93

[Text] Budapest, February 9 (MTI)—About USD [U.S. dollars] 1.5 billion in foreign capital was invested and more than 3,000 joint ventures established in Hungary in 1992. The number of firms in full or partial foreign ownership now exceeds 14,000. Two thirds of the investment was made in industry, and U.S. firms remained the biggest investors.

According to giant multinationals, Hungary has an edge over other former socialist countries as its political situation is more stable and its market economy is more advanced. Furthermore, the Hungarian labour force is well-qualified and relatively inexpensive. However, foreign companies are dissatisfied with the infrastructure and the banking system.

The overwhelming majority of foreign capital was invested in Hungary over the past three years. Of the companies with foreign capital, the proportion of firms with full foreign ownership increased from 25 per cent in 1991 to 35 per cent in 1992. Sixty-six per cent of foreign investment went to industry, 15 per cent to the service sector, 14 per cent to trade and the rest to banks.

U.S. companies have invested more than USD 1 billion; Germany, the second largest investor, USD 500-550 million; and Austria was third with USD 400-450 million.

In 1990-91, Hungary received about 60 per cent of foreign capital invested in Eastern Europe. Many believed that this proportion would not be maintainable,

once the former socialist countries had caught up with the more advanced regions of Europe.

Some observers say that interest in Hungary started to fall last year. They expect the war raging in Hungary's neighbourhood and the extreme right phenomena in politics to divert investors to Bohemia. (On the extreme right, see weekly bulletin Nos. 36-37 and 39.)

However, the Society of International Companies in Hungary (SICH), set up in September 1992 by 14 large foreign firms, including the Hungarian affiliates of Philips, Samsung, Nestle, Suzuki and General Electric, put the blame on the inadequate infrastructure of Hungary's market economy.

The society was dissatisfied with Hungary's banking system even though it recognised its edge over other former socialist countries. Nor was it content with the government's customs, employment and taxation policies.

SICH President Janos Rudnay, managing director of Philips, said that the government should elaborate appropriate monetary, export, industrial, banking and employment strategies to make the economic environment more attractive to foreign investors.

Rudnay did not know of any foreign firm that was likely to withdraw from Hungary. Instead, he knew of companies waiting and pursuing a more cautious investment policy. At the same time, there were many foreign firms considering investing more capital.

Antall, Coalition Partners Discuss Reshuffle

LD0802203993 Budapest MTI in English 1954 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Text] Budapest, February 8 (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, president of the leading party of the government coalition, the Hungarian Democratic Forum, on Monday [8 February] held talks with leaders of the coalition partners (the Christian Democratic People's Party, and the group of 36 Independent Smallholders' Party (ISP) MP's [members of parliament] that belong to the coalition).

The leader of the government group of 36 Smallholder MP's, Janos Szabo, told MTI after the meeting, they had reviewed, in principle, the state of the government coalition and issues related to a government reshuffle in the course of the 90-minute meeting with the prime minister.

Prime Minister Antall stressed he wishes to reshuffle his government, and asked the group of 36 to offer their views. Szabo said his group insists on the ministers and secretaries of state that the party contributes. Otherwise, the prime minister naturally has the right to reshuffle his cabinet, he said.

Szabo replied with a firm "no" to the question of whether concrete names had been discussed or not. He

said personal matters would be discussed at the next negotiations, to be held shortly.

According to Szabo, themes discussed included the economy, general political relations, privatisation, compensation, agriculture, banks, and unemployment. The prime minister called on the ISP's group of 36 to safeguard its unity.

The prime minister then met the president of the Christian Democratic People's Party (CDPP), Laszlo Surjan, minister of welfare, the leader of the CDPP's parliamentary group Bela Csepe, and Tamas Kobold, member of the CDPP's executive committee.

Surjan declined to discuss the details of the meeting with the press after the talks, saying any kind of preliminary statement about a government reshuffle would merely feed rumours.

Csepe told MTI that talks were held about the government reshuffle, and ways to make coalition cooperation "better". However, the new organisational forms of coalition cooperation will be created only after the government reshuffle.

The Christian Democratic delegation informed the prime minister about how they see the work of the government, and which problems should be solved to achieve a change. However, Csepe declined to go into further details. Voicing his personal opinion, he said the government reshuffle would probably not take place this week but, "two weeks are not that long a time" for the reshuffle.

MTI has learned from the ISP's group of 36 delegation to the talks that Prime Minister Antall also wishes to hold talks with his own party about the government reshuffle.

As was reported earlier, Prime Minister Jozsef Antall—who was reelected HDF president at the party's 6th national convention in Budapest on January 22-24—said changes would probably be made in the government, based on the experiences of the national convention and consultations with the coalition parties. Antall made the remarks in answer to a question at a press conference following the national convention, on January 24.

Agriculture Minister Denies Grain Shortages

LD0902112693 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0906 GMT 9 Feb 93

[Speech by Agriculture Minister Elemer Gergatz to the National Assembly in Budapest—live]

[Text] Mr. Speaker, esteemed National Assembly: I asked for the opportunity to make a pre-agenda contribution because recently there have been various media reports and conversations nearly everywhere suggesting that grain supplies for the country are in a very dangerous state and that we are not securing bread supplies for the country's population. Therefore, I would like to assure everyone that based on data received from the wheat trading and milling companies, on our data on reserves, and on control data, our wheat stocks are sufficient for 6.6 [as heard] months of milling requirements. Added to this, we have flour stocks sufficient for two months. This stock is available even if the wheat trading companies do not purchase a single gram of wheat from producers or other trading companies in the coming four or five months.

We all know this is quite out of the question because, according to our most accurate calculations, about 100,000 tonnes of wheat is already here and will appear on the market.

Stocks of various wheat trading companies differ. This is a result of their trading policy and management decisions.

We have been accused of authorizing imports. Yes, we did authorize nearly 40,000 tonnes; part of this has arrived or will arrive in the country precisely to ensure that the wheat industry companies—now limited companies—can keep their mills operating, because competitor companies want to sell flour and not wheat on each others' territory.

Market prices, or commodity prices are developing in such a way that compared with the autumn prices of 2,000 forints, prices have increased by 4,000-5,000 forints. I can only suggest to the companies struggling with deficits that they are seeing the results of their policies in the autumn and of the way they formulated their business plans. The state cannot and does not wish to regroup grain stocks between different companies using the authority and tools of the state administration. I would also like to say that on arrival in the country the price of imported grain was significantly below Hungarian commodity market prices, and so did not have an inflationary impact.

As agriculture minister, I very much regret that the producers hardly benefit from all these, that the present price of the wheat which was reluctantly purchased from them for 2,000 is not returning to the producers. Other business circles are banking this profit.

I also want to say that the stocks purchased at 7-8,000 forints and the present commodity market prices do not justify price increases of bread of the order of which you might hear from various sources. There are no economic reasons for this.

Thank you for your attention.

U.S. Congressmen Arrive for Talks**Meet With Defense Minister***LD0802123493 Warsaw PAP in English 1223 GMT
8 Feb 93*

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 8—A five-men delegation of the Military Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives headed by the committee's chairman Floyd Spence met here Monday [8 February] with Janusz Onyszkiewicz, the minister of defense. The U.S. delegation showed interest in the results of the recent visit paid by the Polish minister in Ukraine and in the course of talks held by Poland with her remaining eastern neighbours, including Russia.

The American visitors assured Onyszkiewicz of their support for closer ties between Poland and NATO. They also expressed interest in using Polish military bases for the training of NATO peacekeeping forces.

Received by Walesa*LD0802202293 Warsaw PAP in English 2000 GMT
8 Feb 93*

[Text] Warsaw Feb. 8—President Lech Walesa received a delegation of the Military Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives led by the committee's chairman Floyd Spence, the president's press office said on Monday [8 February]. The American guests showed interest in the situation of Poland, the leader in reforming economy in the region. The five-man delegation also discussed U.S. assistance programme for Eastern and Central Europe.

The president emphasized that there is no threat Poland will depart the road of reforms. Referring to changes in the former Soviet Union and to the Yugoslav conflict, the president again elaborated on his "NATO-2" concept as a bridge between Western Europe's stable security and the unstable post-communist countries. The president stressed that the U.S. presence is necessary for the European stability.

Russian First Deputy Defense Minister Visits*LD0902121293 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in
Polish 1000 GMT 9 Feb 93*

[Text] Andrey Kokoshin, first deputy defense minister of the Russian Federation, has paid a one-day visit to Warsaw. He held talks in the Belweder, in the Foreign Ministry, in the Ministry of National Defense, and in the National Security Office. Andrey Kokoshin is the first civilian to hold the post of Russia's deputy defense minister.

Minister Says Military Pacts Are Not 'Alliances'*AU0802140093 Warsaw PAP in English 1910 GMT 4
Feb 93*

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 4—Minister of Defence Janusz Onyszkiewicz said today that all military agreements signed by Poland up till now express a willingness to cooperate and define the conditions of such cooperation, adding that they should not be perceived as military alliances.

Onyszkiewicz signed military agreements with Germany and Ukraine in January and February. Earlier, similar agreements had also been signed with France, Hungary, Latvia, Greece and former Czechoslovakia.

Referring to Poland's long-term goal to join NATO, Onyszkiewicz told reporters during a press conference following his visit to Ukraine that the NATO states have not spelled out any formal requirements Poland would have to meet to join the pact.

"There is an informal condition that the Polish Armed Forces be compatible with the armed forces of NATO by moving under full civil control," he said. "As you know this is being carried out in Poland."

Asked about Poland's military relations with Russia, Onyszkiewicz stated that he plans to visit Russia "in the near future," while Poland is to host a Russian military delegation. He stressed that the building of mutual security and confidence in Europe is impossible without the participation of Russia in this process.

Deputy Interior Minister To Discuss Asylum Law*LD0702155593 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in
Polish 1500 GMT 7 Feb 93*

[Text] Poland has to do everything possible not to accept many thousands of asylum seekers from the FRG. This is the view expressed today by Deputy Internal Affairs Minister Jerzy Zimowski before his departure for Bonn, where he is to take part in the second round of negotiations on the new German asylum law. According to the law, the neighbors of the FRG would have to accept refugees who arrived in Germany from their countries and had been refused asylum. Deputy Minister Jerzy Zimowski said that the prospects of receiving tens of thousands of unsuccessful asylum seekers would mean, above all, a threat to the state budget.

During the two-day negotiations, Johannes (?Retnick), secretary of state in the Bonn Ministry of Internal Affairs, is going to be Minister Zimowski's partner. Zimowski described the talks with Germany as difficult, and he announced that Poland was going to enter into consultations with other neighbors of Germany—which could find themselves in a similar situation. He also denied reports by the German press that Poland is allegedly interested only in getting as much money as possible from Germany.

There are 500 refugees in Poland at present, not taking into account 1,500 war refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina who are staying in Poland temporarily.

Bill on Stalinist Crimes Responsibility Prepared

*AU0802134893 Warsaw PAP in English 2216 GMT
3 Feb 93*

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 3—The parliament today sent to a Senate committee a draft law on persecution of crimes committed during the Stalinist era and never investigated for political reasons in the years 1944-89.

Justifying the initiative, Senator Henryk Rossa (Centre Alliance) stressed that many crimes were left unpunished but the political change which took place in Poland makes it possible now to persecute some of the crimes on which there is no limitation or amnesty.

In this particular case, the proposed law would reject the principle that law must not be retroactive because the crimes in question had caused tremendous wrongs done to large numbers of people and therefore, their impunity glaringly violates the public sense of justice.

Deputy Jerzy Wiatr, representing the ex-communist Democratic Left Alliance, supported the plan and declared that the left would vote in favour of further work on the bill.

A number of major parties also supported the initiative and leader of the Confederation for Independent Poland (KPN) Leszek Moczulski pointed out that limitation can be applied only if justice is being done throughout the period involved.

The Sejm also adopted all the senate-proposed amendments to the law on financial restructuring of enterprises and banks. The law will allow solving of the debt problem of enterprises and banks, regulate the out-of-court procedures in banking, and conversion of debt.

The new law will also facilitate quick privatization of state-owned enterprises.

ZChN Demands Rapid Approval of Vetting Bill

*AU0802135093 Warsaw PAP in English 1528 GMT
4 Feb 93*

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 4—Christian National Union (ZChN) deputies Stefan Niesiolowski and Ryszard Czarnecki demanded, during a Thursday [4 February] press conference, that "work on the approval of the vetting bill be maximally sped up."

"After 45 years of the domination of the antinationalistic communist system in Poland it is necessary to reveal to the public who supported and served under the system", said Czarnecki, adding that "any further delay of the decision on the matter could serve to destabilize the situation in the state."

Both deputies expressed their disappointment at the Sejm special committee's rejection of the ZChN's vetting-decommunisation draft. "It seems that the majority of the committee is opposed to vetting," said Czarnecki and claimed that the drafts which were accepted by the special committee are "cosmetic in nature".

"If vetting and decommunisation in Poland are not completed, politics will be taken to the streets, and that would be disastrous for the Polish state", stated Czarnecki.

Niesiolowski protested against the disruption of Wednesday's radio coverage of Sejm debates concerning the victims of Stalinism.

Opposition Questions Walesa's Support for Democracy

*AU0802142293 Warsaw PAP in English 2132 GMT
5 Feb 93*

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 5—President Lech Walesa's letter on Thursday [4 February] to Sejm (lower house) speaker Wieslaw Chrzanowski criticizing the conduct of opposition deputies, and his refusal to accept the nomination of Zbigniew Klajnert as minister of culture, are "clear evidence of the president's questioning of the rules of parliamentary democracy," the parliamentary club of the rightist opposition Centre Alliance (PC) stated today.

In Thursday's letter to Chrzanowski, President Walesa had asked for action to be taken against deputies who breached "the legal and constitutional order which all deputies are bound by oath to uphold" when they took part in street demonstrations outside the presidential palace last week.

The statement from the PC parliamentary club, signed by PC parliamentary leader Marek Dziubek, claimed that those deputies who had taken their opposition onto the streets in the recent demonstrations had acted in accordance with their rights: "the right to demonstrate belongs to the catalogue of basic civil rights constitutionally guaranteed in Poland and in all democratic countries."

The statement continues: "The attempt (by President Walesa) to induce the presidium of the Sejm to restrict the rights of members of parliament, and also of all other citizens, can be seen as an incitement to extra-legal activities." The PC hopes that the Sejm Presidium will not allow itself to be used as a tool in the contest being waged by the Presidential Office against the Centre Alliance.

The PC also claimed that President Walesa's refusal Thursday to accept the nomination of Christian National Union (ZChN) member Zbigniew Klajnert as minister of culture "signals the beginning of a constitutional crisis for the Republic of Poland." It is questionable whether the current president "is able to fulfill his

constitutional duty to safeguard the constitution, since he is clearly unfamiliar with it."

"Those who cannot find the strength to oppose these threats to the democratic order bring upon themselves the political and moral responsibility for the consequences," the declaration emphasized.

Article Sees 'No Alternative' to Walesa Presidency

AU0902114893 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 4 Feb 93 p 3

[Article by Malgorzata Subotic: "A Turbulent Presidency"]

[Excerpts] "Again I am in a position to beat this or any other candidate by two lengths," said Lech Walesa the other day when he heard that the opposition was nominating Jan Olszewski as a presidential candidate. "Let no one try to fight me because it will cost him dearly," he said. Thus, in words at least, Walesa is sure he would be re-elected president if elections were held now.

Politicians generally concur that the president has no intention of resigning and that, for the time being at least, he has no potential rival. That is what Jaroslaw Kaczynski says, or at least that is what he said in his interview for RZECZPOSPOLITA. And yet Kaczynski, chairman of the Center Accord, is trying hard to set up social committees for the purpose of holding early presidential elections.

What is Walesa's presidency like? Is it turbulent, as one politician has said, or romantic, as someone else claims? Perhaps he is clinging to office at all costs? [passage omitted]

Public opinion polls suggest that society is disappointed with Walesa's two years as president. There is no doubt that many of those who took part in last week's march to the Belweder [presidential residence] voted for him to be president.

Politicians also do not spare Walesa their criticism, though no politician has gone as far as Kaczynski and actually staged a demonstration against him. The most frequent criticism of Walesa is that he has no strategic plan. Some politicians go a stage further and say he has no plan at all, and describe his latest moves, such as the creation of councils to oversee economic development, as senseless, and even harmful, gestures that are a pure waste of time. According to Walesa's critics, two years of Walesa's presidency have shown that in the long run, it is impossible to pursue politics without assuming responsibility for it.

Yet in the meantime, the two years of Walesa's presidency have shown that there really is no alternative presidential candidate. Under Polish conditions, the three years that are left of Walesa's tenure are an entire epoch. Aleksander Kwasniewski, leader of the Alliance

of the Democratic Left, says that the kind of political arrangements that would produce presidential candidates have not taken shape yet. "But Poland is a large country, and these arrangements will appear when the time comes," he says.

Andrzej Zarebski likens the situation with Walesa nowadays to the situation faced by Winston Churchill. When World War II ended, the British said that Churchill was an excellent leader during an extraordinary situation, i.e. war, but now that the extraordinary situation was over and peace had emerged, a new leader was required. It is the same in Poland. Walesa will become expendable when we have emerged from our extraordinary situation.

The first Solidarity leader is today facing the dilemma of whether or not to run for president a second time. If the answer is yes, and there is a lot of indication that that is the case, then he must change his style of action. Is that possible? Three years ago a commentator wrote: "Walesa is ruthless. He is interested in power. In politics, he values nothing but strength. He is a calculated, dispassionate realist."

Two Sejm Deputies Stripped of Immunity

AU0802142093 Warsaw PAP in English 2234 GMT 4 Feb 93

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 4—Deputies Maciej Zalewski of the Polish Liberal Programme (PPL) and Jozef Pawlak of the Polish Peasant Party (PSL) were stripped of their immunity from penal prosecution by the plenary Sejm session today.

Zalewski has been charged with tipping the owners of the Art-B concern, Boguslaw Bagsik and Andrzej Gasiowski, of their imminent arrest in the summer of 1991. The two fled to Israel. Zalewski is also charged with putting pressure on the two to make large financial contributions to a company he had been involved in. Pawlak faces charges of financial swindles and tax fraud.

Both men deny their guilt and Zalewski had asked the Sejm to strip him of immunity to be able to prove his innocence in court.

Three Sejm committees and all caucuses except for two (those of the Confederation for Independent Poland, KPN, and the Movement for the Republic, RDR, backed today the government draft law on ownership transformations of state enterprises in the mining, energy and fuel sectors. The proposed regulations would simplify and speed up the procedure of privatisation of such large state firms. The chamber will vote on the draft tomorrow.

Also today, the Sejm passed on to committees a draft law on the status of the Augsburg-Evangelical Church in Poland. The draft is patterned after similar acts passed earlier and concerning the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches.

Irrespective of their political affiliation, the deputies stressed that the draft met the constitutional requirements of equality before the law, freedom of conscience and creed as well as granting the 100,000-strong religious community the same status as that enjoyed by much larger church communities.

Four Sejm committees today recommended that the chamber support the presidential veto against the law on old age pensions for the military, police, etc. The issue is a political one and reflects a dispute between the advocates and opponents of decommunization.

OPZZ, Industry Ministry Officials Discuss Policy
*LD0802173893 Warsaw PAP in English 1603 GMT
8 Feb 93*

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 8—Chairmen of the unions and branch federations affiliated to the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) met with Deputy Industry Minister Edward Nowak on Monday [8 February] to discuss the government's policy connected with restructuring of the Polish industry. According to Nowak the power engineering and arms industries will continue to be state-owned as they are vital for all the citizens. He added that "the strategy of the Polish industry ought to be based on marketing" and plants should produce such products for which there is demand.

Balance of Payments in Red for 1992
*LD0402214693 Warsaw PAP in English 2120 GMT
4 Feb 93*

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 4—Poland recorded a current account balance of payments deficit of 269 million dollars in 1992, compared with the 1991 surplus of 1.36 billion dollars, according to figures released on Thursday [4 February] by the National Bank of Poland (NBP).

According to Wlodzimierz Kicinski, director of the NBP foreign department, the main cause of the deterioration was import growth in the 4th quarter, particularly in December. He noted that this sharp increase was most likely caused by importers seeking to complete deals ahead of the imposition on December 17 of higher import duties and taxes.

Kicinski also noted that NBP foreign currency reserves rose by 465 million dollars over the year, and now total some 4 bn. [billion] dollars.

According to figures collected from 38 Polish banks, 1992 saw a 9.7 percent increase in the export of goods to almost 14 bn. dollars, while import payments totalled 13.485 bn. dollars. In addition, the trade balance for invisibles (services, tourism, etc.) recorded a surplus of 344 million dollars for the year (1991: 236 million dollars).

Kicinski said that foreign trade had in recent years developed in accordance with the reorientation of Poland's politics, with the EC accounting for 56 percent of Polish

exports, and EFTA [European Free Trade Association] a further 15 percent. However, Kicinski added that the relative inactivity of Polish exporters in Eastern European markets was a worrying phenomenon, given that the region had significant potential for growth in foreign trade.

Kicinski also noted that, under the terms of its foreign debt agreements, Poland had been obligated to make interest payments of 4.7 bn. dollars, of which 1.1 bn. dollars was actually met. In addition, a total 5.6 bn. dollars was received in private transfers, while outgoing payments totalled 5.4 bn. dollars.

Report Shows Health 'Deteriorating Alarmingly'
*AU0802133393 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish
5 Feb 93 p 1*

[Report by Luiza Kowalska: "Statisticians Raise Alarm"]

[Text] Fewer children were born in Poland in 1992 than in any other year since the war, says a report by the Government Census Bureau published yesterday [4 February]. At the same time, mortality is still high—almost 400,000 people died in 1992. About 13 million Poles live in areas of environmental danger.

The health of the Polish population is deteriorating alarmingly, says the report, which bears the title "Demographic Situation of Poland." The reasons are bad living conditions, eating habits, poor personal hygiene, smoking, alcohol consumption, and drug abuse. It is reckoned that about 13 million Poles live in areas of environmental danger. Several million Poles are actually considered to be living in areas with "high concentrations of toxic substances."

The diseases from which Poles are in greatest danger are those of the circulation and of the digestive, respiratory, and nervous systems, plus tumors and poisoning. Cases of infectious hepatitis are not diminishing, and cases of tuberculosis are twice the European average.

Almost half the deaths in Poland in 1992 were caused by diseases of the circulation, especially massive strokes, which affected men more than women. Also, more men died of tumors than women. Such deaths occurred especially in southern, western, and northern regions, and in the large conurbations. On the other hand, more women than men died of poisoning and accidents, especially road accidents.

Poland, continues the report, is one of the few countries in Europe in which life expectancy is falling. Statistically a male Pole today lives to the age of 66, and a female Pole 75.

Because of the fall in the number of births, the high number of deaths, and the increase in emigration, the population growth rate has slackened, which could result in a fall in the population. Real population growth is already at its lowest level since the war.

U.S. Stand on Barges 'Difficult To Understand'*AU0902113193 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian
2 Feb 93 p 8*

[Article by Romulus Caplescu: "The Danube Crisis, Steel, and Status"]

[Text] Having taken over office from the old administration, the Clinton administration has also taken over the role of the guardian of the new world order, thus also taking upon itself the huge "portfolio" of unsolved foreign policy issues, among which the most annoying and disturbing (perhaps even more so than the headache caused by Saddam Husayn's Iraq) is the situation in former Yugoslavia. Therefore, it is no wonder that—trying to find out every detail of that complex problem in order to be able to reach conclusions—the newly elected president requested the National Security Council, the State Department, the Pentagon, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the CIA, which are the main bodies dealing with all the angles of foreign policy and military issues, including the delicate domain of espionage, to draw up an inventory of the various options and to formulate recommendations concerning the ways that could be followed by Washington. The options that have been put forward have obviously comprised a wide range of solutions, starting with the deployment of a U.S. task force and ending with the ruling out of any involvement on behalf of the United States.

However, according to reports, the U.S. political-military establishment seems to be more unwilling than ever to recommend direct involvement in the Yugoslav wasp's nest. In the view of the most reputed U.S. experts, the sending of troops would be a serious mistake, as the front lines are extremely mobile, and consequently very many lives would be lost. The utmost that could be taken into consideration would be to resort to the Air Force for reinforcement of the no-fly zone over Bosnia for Serbian planes or with the aim of bombing Serbian ammunition depots, starting out from the idea that—exactly as in Iraq—losses would be minimal, if not nil, although such things are somewhat difficult to anticipate.

However it may be, avoiding direct involvement at all costs is in the national interests of the United States, which does not accept that its sons should die for a cause that does not endanger those interests. That is why it is even more difficult to understand the U.S. position of recommending to others involved in the current Danube crisis to do just that, that is, to engage in direct involvement, in spite of the fact that such a thing most strongly contradicts those countries' national interests.

Such is the case with Romania (and Bulgaria), which allegedly have the "right" (?) to resort to force to reinforce observance of the embargo imposed on rump Yugoslavia. In other words, such a "right" means the right to risk the lives of our own soldiers, launch military operations against a neighboring nation with which we never had any conflicts before, and, at the same time, face the prospects of an ecological disaster, let alone

those of a general war in the Balkans. Naturally, such recommendations cannot be accepted by human reason and it is quite a relief to see that all the political forces in Romania (and Bulgaria, as a matter of fact), including the opposition parties, definitely reject such an alternative, while favoring the use of every method, except military, to ensure observance of the embargo.

The priority granted to national interests by the world power over the ocean is not limited to that single issue only. A few days ago, the U.S. Trade Department announced a massive increase in the taxes imposed on steel imports, whereby the main losers are the 12 countries of the Common Market and a number of other countries outside that community, among which is Romania. That measure was justified by the need to protect the U.S. domestic steel production against the low priced products of those countries, even if it means striking a heavy blow to world trade liberalization, in whose favor Washington is always pleading. To Romania's steel industry that would mean the reduction of sales on the U.S. market, and, implicitly, the lessening of our steel production. It should be clear that the cited measure is not directed specially against Romania, but rather against the EEC (and Japan), which are the most serious competitors of the U.S., and to which the most-favored-nation [MFN] status is applied in economic relations. However, that measure will have a negative impact on our country as well, even if the MFN clause had been granted to us (but it has not).

In other words, the most-favored-nation status, about which so much fuss is being made (and which is being held out like a carrot to us, depending on whether we would be prepared to use force against the Yugoslav barges transporting oil) in no way prevents the United States from resorting to protectionist measures whenever its national production needs to be protected. Again, as in all such cases—and this is quite normal—national interests prevail.

And yet, in the Danube crisis, does Romania not have the right to grant priority to its own national interests? The barges-steel-MFN status equation is self-evident in that sense, and there is only one, simple solution to it.

Economic Integration With Moldova Discussed*AU0802184993 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in
Romanian 1800 GMT 8 Feb 93*

[Text] A new meeting of the Interministerial Committee for Romania's Relations With the Republic of Moldova took place today at the Foreign Ministry headquarters under the chairmanship of Mr. Teodor Melescanu, minister of state and minister of foreign affairs and coordinator of the Interministerial Committee. The participants discussed priority ventures agreed upon with the Republic of Moldova regarding cooperation in the spheres of economy, education, culture, and other fields of common interest, as well as necessary steps to be jointly taken to accelerate the economic integration of

the two Romanian states and consolidate the common cultural and intellectual space.

In this respect, the Interministerial Committee examined the stage of preparing important actions that will be coordinated with the Republic of Moldova in the near future to facilitate trade exchanges, financial-banking cooperation, training of cadres in the Republic of Moldova, and the expansion of cooperation in other spheres. The participants also examined other possibilities to help the Republic of Moldova and further support it in overcoming certain economic difficulties.

The meeting discussed the Republic of Moldova's request for certain humanitarian aid from Romania, as well as ways and means for utilizing the Moldova humanitarian fund as efficiently as possible.

All this information was supplied to us by a fax from the spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Trade Unions Threaten General Strike Over Wages

*AU0802174893 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1710 GMT 8 Feb 93*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 8/2/1993—The 15 unions that on February 5 halted the negotiations with the employers' associations on the all-country labour contract held a press conference on February 8. Victor Ciorbea, chairman of the Free Unions' Confederation of Romania, read out a letter addressed to President Ion Iliescu, the presidents of the two chambers of Parliament and the prime minister, saying that if the government does not accept the national labour contract in the unions' phrasing, until Tuesday, February 9, the unions will react in specific forms, a national general strike included.

The negotiations have been interrupted and the prime minister has been asked for an interview with union leaders as the government has breached a number of laws and protocols it concluded with the unions, said Victor

Ciorbea, who specified that "the government has not respected its own proposal that 31 January be the deadline for the negotiation of draft normative acts on minimal wages and their guarantee, and for fixing a relationship between wages and prices. (...) The unions had only been given an opportunity to have talks with the minister of labour and social protection and only on the salary system, not on minimal wages and the relationship between salaries and prices."

Handling of Doina Cornea Lawsuit Criticized

*AU0802190693 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1753 GMT 8 Feb 93*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 8/2/1993—Romania's President Ion Iliescu is surprised at the unfortunate choice of the time to bring up to public attention the complaint filed with the attorney general by private persons ever since October 1991 in connection with the appearance of Mrs. Doina Cornea on the Romanian National Television during the grave social unrest in the autumn of that year, which the plaintiffs claim to have incited to disorder and undermined the rule of law.

Expressing this feeling in a letter of response to Henri Gourarier who, on behalf of the International Federation for Human Rights, qualified this as "violations of the human rights," President Iliescu shows that "it is hard to understand why the bodies authorised by Constitution, which enjoy total freedom in exercising their prerogatives, have delayed the clarification of such accusations, so necessary both for Mrs. Cornea's reputation and for the defence of legality in the state."

President Iliescu assesses in his letter that Mrs. Cornea is one of "the Romanian personalities internationally renowned for their brave activities and open opposition to the dictatorial regime," whose presence in the political life of Romania after the revolution of December 1989 "reflects the new climate and the absence of any restrictions in the exercise of the fundamental human rights for all citizens of Romania."

Radio Reports Halilovic's Cease-Fire Order*LD0902104493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 8 Feb 93*

[Text] At the request and proposal of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] and in order to ensure repair work on the electricity network, water and sewage installations, and telephone and telegraph lines, Sefer Halilovic, head of the main headquarters of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Armed Forces, has issued the following order:

In the responsibility zone of the 1st Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, all offensive activities will cease and a cease-fire will be secured on all lines. Fire is to be opened only in the case of a direct attack on positions held by units. The cease-fire comes into effect... [pauses] that is, it should have already come into effect at midnight, six and a half minutes ago.

Serbs Express 'Readiness' for Cease-Fire*AU0802151593 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 8 Feb 93*

[Text] We have a report from UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] that another cease-fire in Sarajevo is in prospect. Zoran Pirolic has the details:

[Begin recording] General Philippe Morillon, commander of the blue helmets in Sarajevo, has much work to do today. As a result of his efforts, Sarajevo people may be having yet another cease-fire—so far there have been twenty-odd of those. Gen. Morillon has already met Colonel Stjepan Siber, deputy chief of the General Staff of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and General Milan Gvero, representative of the aggressor's army. According to the UNPROFOR spokesman, Gen. Morillon was told of the readiness in principle for a new cease-fire that would this time be used primarily for more thorough repairs to the severely damaged electrical power lines around Sarajevo and for works on water (?sources). For this reason, the subcommittee of the mixed military group will meet at the airport tomorrow and discuss details about the cease-fire, locations at which the repairs will take place, and the like.

According to the UNPROFOR report, representatives of the authorities of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the aggressor's side have also agreed on a cease-fire in the Srebrenica region to come into force at noon today, so that the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees can send aid to the population of that part of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Gen. Morillon will have talks with representatives of the aggressor's side in Pale today about the conditions of the cease-fire, freedom of movement for the convoys, and other issues concerning UNPROFOR activity.

According to information from the UNPROFOR Command for Bosnia-Herzegovina, the situation in central Bosnia is still tense, but there were no major clashes yesterday. Some infantry fire occurred in Busovaca and around Kiseljak, but UNPROFOR does not have any data on possible casualties.

The situation in Gornji Vakuf is also very tense with sporadic gunfire. Members of the British battalion continue their careful observation of the development of the situation in this town and have permanent foot patrols along the lines of separation. UNPROFOR representatives say that all the forces that came from outside have still not withdrawn from the zone of conflict, but there has been no precise statement on what kind of forces they are and where they came from. UNPROFOR expects both sides to comply with the cease-fire agreement and to continue to contribute to the stabilization of situation in Gornji Vakuf. [end recording]

Shelling, Automatic Gunfire Despite Cease-Fire*AU0902084793 Paris AFP in English 0820 GMT 9 Feb 93*

[Report by Hugh Nevill]

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, Feb 9 (AFP)—A cease-fire declared by the Bosnian Army in Sarajevo from midnight (2300 GMT) failed to stop the gunfire Tuesday [9 February] morning.

Meanwhile, Serb and Bosnian Army forces exchanged some 200 prisoners in Sarajevo Monday, the State Commission on the Exchange of Prisoners announced Tuesday. [passage omitted]

Sarajevo radio Tuesday reported sporadic shelling, anti-aircraft fire and small arms fire in various parts of the city and on front lines around it through the night, and as dawn broke automatic gunfire could be heard. That was followed by the sound of outgoing heavy weapons fire.

It was not known in Sarajevo itself whether the Serb forces besieging the Bosnia-Herzegovina capital had agreed to hold their fire when the ceasefire was first announced Monday.

Bosnian Army commander Sefer Halilovic announced the ceasefire for the entire Sarajevo area to allow UN and civilian engineers to repair electricity and telephone lines and water pumping stations. [passage omitted]

Radio Says Serbs Used Poison Gas in Sarajevo*LD0802170593 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 8 Feb 93*

[Report by Miroslav Simovic from Sarajevo for Croatian Radio]

[Excerpts] The list of Sarajevo districts which have been targeted by chetnik artillery is long. These are: parts of Novo Sarajevo, Otoka, Heroes' Square, Hrasno Brdo, Cengic Vila, Pavle Goranin settlement, Alipasino Polje, Dobrinja, and the radio and television building. Poisonous gases have been fired on the Aneks settlement. [passage omitted]

According to a UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] statement, a subcommittee for military issues will discuss a Sarajevo cease-fire on Sarajevo airport tomorrow.

General Morillon was in Pale [a Serb stronghold] today for talks with the enemy about the cease-fire and the passage of humanitarian aid to eastern Bosnia.

Finally, let us recall that the 24th Winter Olympic Games were opened on this day nine years ago. There is little left which can remind us of Sarajevo's moments of glory.

Serbs Reported Amassing Forces Around Sarajevo

AU0802200893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Excerpt] We will complete the report on the aggressor's war operations in Sarajevo with the statement by the Press Service of the First Corps, which says:

The order and strength of the Serbian-Montenegrin aggressor and the domestic chetniks has changed in the last two days in the zone of responsibility of the First Corps. The Chetniks are being reinforced along the direction Rajlovac-Zabrdje-Mijatovica Strana. Additional fortifications have been spotted in Breza and Lalovici and in Borija. Twenty-four tanks and a considerable number of armored personnel carriers have been registered in Lukavica, the Vranjes and Ilinjaca. [passage omitted]

President Calls on Islamic Nations To Send Arms

LD0802192593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1854 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Text] Cairo, February 8 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic has called on Islamic countries to openly violate the United Nations embargo on arms exports to Bosnia-Herzegovina. Izetbegovic said in an interview to the Cairo daily AL-AHRAM that "Islamic countries should openly say that they will send us arms and stop respecting the (U.N.) resolution." In his opinion, arms deliveries to the Muslim side in Bosnia-Herzegovina could encounter difficulties because of the conflict between Bosnian Moslems and Croats, who have jointly fought against the Bosnian Serbs. He added, however, that this problem would be settled, easily or with some difficulties. In Izetbegovic's opinion, Bosnia-Herzegovina is "the victim of U.N. resolutions" because the U.N. was "unjust." He also accused the West of having "betrayed Bosnia." "The West has betrayed us by allowing that one people in central Europe become the victim of genocide only because it is the Muslim people," said Izetbegovic. He again rejected the peace plan by cochairman of the conference on former Yugoslavia Cyrus Vance and Lord David Owen, and voiced conviction that a peaceful solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina could be "very difficult to find."

Serb, Bosnian Armed Forces Exchange 200 Prisoners

AU0902083493 Paris AFP in English 0805 GMT 9 Feb

[Text] Sarajevo, Feb 9 (AFP)—Serb and Bosnian Army forces exchanged some 200 prisoners in Sarajevo Monday [8 February], the State Commission on the Exchange of Prisoners announced Tuesday. Some 100

prisoners from each side were traded at the airport under the supervision of UN troops. The commission said most of the prisoners were civilians.

Snipers Fire on POW Exchange at Sarajevo

LD0802211493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2029 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Feb (TANJUG)—A long-awaited exchange of 106 Serbian POW's [prisoners of war] from the Tarcin for the same number of Muslims from Kula prison took place at 1600 today at Sarajevo airport, SRNA reported tonight.

While the bus carrying the POW Exchange Commission of the Army of the Serbian Republic and the Muslims who were to be exchanged was crossing the runway, sniper fire was opened from Mojnilo, SRNA reports.

As a result, the agency claims, six persons were wounded: two members of the Serbian commission, Aleksandar Mrkajac and Aleksandar Lukic; and Bahrudin Velagic, Izet Japalac, Zijad Ferhatbegovic, Ragib Muharemovic, Aziz Suljevic and Mehmedalija Hodzic, prisoners from Kula who were on their way to the exchange [sentence as received].

On their arrival in Muslim-controlled territory today, the exchanged prisoners also were joined by 15 Muslims from Rogatica, who had spent three months in the garrison of Lukavica, SRNA reports.

Croats Reportedly Use Tanker Bombs Against Muslims

LD0802231393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2241 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 8 (TANJUG)—The Bosnian Croat Army is fighting the Muslims in Gornji Vakuf, central Bosnia, with remote-controlled vehicle tankers filled with explosives, Radio Sarajevo said on Monday [8 February].

The radio, loyal to Bosnian Muslim Leader Alija Izetbegovic, said the tankers, nicknamed the "Livno atomic bomb," were being used chiefly against civilian targets. The radio said one such bomb, touched off in the Muslim-populated suburb of Gornji Vakuf on Sunday evening, had levelled several houses and damaged dozens of others.

Four more tankers have been positioned on Poljane hill dominating Gornji Vakuf with the intention of being rolled down on the town, alleged Radio Sarajevo.

The Sunday explosion shook the town shortly after Croats and Muslims had agreed another truce, with the mediation of UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) and European Community (EC) Officials.

Heavy fighting at Gornji Vakuf between the erstwhile allies in the Bosnian war has claimed hundreds of lives, and several Muslim villages have been razed to the ground, the radio said.

It quoted Selmo Cikotic, a member of the Muslim delegation to the talks, as saying that Bosnian Croats had threatened to deport the 500,000 Muslim refugees in Croatia to Turkey if Muslims continued to attack Croat lives and property in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Describing Gornji Vakuf as one of the worst crisis spots in Bosnia-Herzegovina at present, the radio said that the town had been shelled from mortars, multiple rocket launchers and antiaircraft guns, with more than 300 mortar shells falling on the town in the past 24 hours alone.

The situation is no better in nearby Busovaca and most of central Bosnia, which has a mixed Muslim-Croat population.

Former allies in the war against Bosnian Serbs, Muslims and Croats fell out a few weeks ago, at the time the cochairmen of the Geneva conference on former Yugoslavia, Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, drafted their peace plan for Bosnia.

The plan envisages for dividing this former Yugoslav Republic into 10 provinces.

Muslims Threaten To Destroy Srebrenica Dam

AU0802161693 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Text] Muslim forces have attacked the positions of the Bratunac brigade and are threatening to blow up the dam holding refuse from the Srebrenica lead and zinc mine. Miodrag Negovanovic reports:

This would cause a major ecological catastrophe downstream from this mine. The command of the Bratunac brigade is surprised that, after so many casualties suffered in this almost one year old war in the former Bosnia, the Muslims still want war, destruction, and suffering, when the best way to solve all the problems is to hold talks and lay down any arms. The Bratunac command's message to Haris Silajdzic [Bosnian foreign minister] is that it is the regular units of the army of the Serbian republic that are defending the people and territory of this Serbian commune.

Muslims are still shelling Bratunac. The four shells that hit this small town last night wounded several innocent civilians and three fighters. The material damage was substantial.

Belgrade Radio Reports on Chemical Threats

AU0802161293 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Text] The Bosnian Muslims have again started threatening with chemical weapons. A threat was made last night at the expanded session of the Tuzla regional assembly that chemical substances will be activated on the front if the blockades are not lifted from roads in Herzegovina and central Bosnia and if Dubrava airport near Tuzla is not opened immediately. The communique issued from the session, and quoted by the Muslim Radio Sarajevo, states that since the people

of those regions are allegedly left with no choice, chemical substances should immediately be distributed to all front-lines.

Serbs Deny Ethnic Cleansing Allegations

LD0802182493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1804 GMT 8 Feb 93

[“Pool” item]

[Text] Belgrade, February 8 (TANJUG)—The Bosnian Serb Army on Monday [8 February] denied Moslem Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic's allegations ascribing the crimes and ethnic cleansing committed by Moslems to the Bosnian Serbs.

Silajdzic, who heads the Moslem delegation at New York talks on Bosnia-Herzegovina, has claimed that Bosnian Serb units were practicing ethnic cleansing in the areas of Srebrenica, Bratunac and Cerska, eastern Bosnia.

In a statement sent to TANJUG, the Bosnian Serb Army said that the fact that Moslem forces last summer razed and burnt to the ground 43 Serb villages around Srebrenica and Bratunac, and massacred over 960 Serbs, mostly old people, women and children, was a proof that the Moslem side was in fact practicing ethnic cleansing in that part of Bosnia.

The statement recalls that Moslem units have also destroyed nine Serb villages near Zvornik, an eastern Bosnian town north of Bratunac.

Similar atrocities against Serbs have been carried out in the valley of the River Neretva and in the area of Kupres, southwestern Bosnia, says the statement.

It also includes a list of all destroyed Serb villages around Srebrenica and Bratunac.

Silajdzic's allegations are calculated at undermining the peace process, says the statement and adds that the Moslem propaganda has accused the Bosnian Serbs even for opening a corridor to make possible free passage of Moslems from the scene of fighting.

Silajdzic has made the Moslem side's further participation in negotiations on Bosnia-Herzegovina conditional on the stopping of ethnic cleansing carried out allegedly by Bosnian Serbs in the areas of Bratunac and Srebrenica.

He failed to present a single piece of evidence to corroborate the claim.

Situation in Brcko, Posavina Battlefield Viewed

93BA0530C Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 22 Jan 93 p 15

[Article by Dragan Cicic: “Do Not Lean Out the Window”]

[Text] “That over there is the Republic of Croatia.” Jovo, a pock-marked and blue-eyed man in uniform, stands on the quai in the center of Brcko and points

across the Sava. The river is about 400 meters wide at this point, and there is a bridge to the other side. There are no armed guards on either side, there is no one, at least no one in sight. A few minutes' walk, and you have crossed the bridge. Only when you look a bit more closely do you see that a section is missing.

Jovo hurries us to run back to the parts of the city far from the river, because, he says, sniper bullets come occasionally from the woods on the Croatian side. The streets near the quai are empty, the stores, mostly Muslim, have been completely demolished.

There is only one armed guard in the entire area. He is sitting in an antique chair in front of the Posavina Hotel, a baroque Austro-Hungarian structure that no longer has a single window and has one remaining purple drape; he is bent over the automatic weapon in his lap, his hands buried in his hair. He seems to be sleeping.

The Muslim lines are 1.5 km from the center, away from the Sava, in the suburb known as Suljagica Sokak. Thus, the corridor linking Serbia and Bosanska Krajina, the largest territory of the Serbian Republic in B-H [Bosnia-Herzegovina], is less than 2 km wide in the very center of Brcko.

It is not hard to believe in the corridor's importance. This strip of territory, about 200 km long and often very narrow, which on the map is so twisted that it reminds one of an umbilical cord, looks still stranger in the field. Lengthy detours connect country roads to the highways, muddy and broad paths cut recently through the forest lead straight to pontoon bridges. However, this does not stop the numerous trucks in both directions from continuing on their way. But the freight they carry is not enough to afford the Serbian Republic any kind of normal life. Only one firm, the Bineks Meat Industry, is still operating today on a regular basis in Brcko, which formerly was an industrial center. Occasionally, the Tesla Storage Battery Factory ships out something of what it previously produced.

That is how it is in the city. And on the positions around the city.... Near the village Gorica, destroyed by artillery shells and completely abandoned, Pero indicates a hole in the ground that has been strengthened by added earth. He has been sleeping in it for the last three months. There is nothing in this dugout but a mattress, dampness, cold, and darkness. His fellow fighters were using a prefabricated barracks until it was hit by a shell. Pero fires a machine gun in the air from the armored personnel carrier to show what he can do. His brief burst brings the other soldiers around, and they shout: "Don't, the Croats will think we have attacked them, and they will start up with their artillery."

Shells are falling more and more frequently now in Brcko and environs. The difference in armament is shrinking steadily.

The situation resembles more and more some fatal stalemate in which all three sides are wrestling in a close embrace in liquid mud, their destinies so intertwined as to be unrecognizable. Ivo, a Croatian fighting man from Orasje, a

town on the Bosnian side of the Sava Valley not far from Brcko, was captured after a bullet went into one hip and came out the other. In the Brcko Hospital, they tied together the blood vessels in his pelvis with a surgical incision below the navel, across the tattooed words "Ladies Only!"

"He had trouble getting about, and a month ago, when a shell fell in the hospital grounds, he said he was more frightened than when he was in the trench," says Dr. Momir Crnic, the director of the hospital.

Occasionally, Ivo visits Jovo, the one about whom we spoke at the beginning. Sometimes he gives him a cigarette. Actually, Jovo fled from Orasje; he and Ivo were neighbors so to speak. As they look at one another with their blue eyes, both of them have a kind of strange smile, like people who know and understand one another, although they both say that they do not know what will happen to Ivo unless the Croatian side soon consents to an exchange.

They hope that they will consent, they hope that the war will soon come to an end. "We have had enough of it all," says Pero, the man in the dugout. Most of the Serbian fighters are ready to consent even to the Near Eastern principle "Territory for peace"—again, only so that they can hold on to the corridor. They hardly react to mention of control of transportation arteries by the "blue helmets," as though one is talking to them about something abstract, something difficult to understand. New York is so far away, and the enemy lines so near.

"We no longer know what to believe," says a soldier who shrugs his shoulders as he drinks brandy in what is probably the only coffeehouse open in the town. The coffeehouse is now called Bora's Place, but the stone wall, at least a meter of whose length has been blown up, still says Selmica's Place. Selmica, however, went away with some 30,000 Muslims, who in one way or another have left the city where before this war they comprised a majority. The new owner Boro came from Austria when the war began in order to get his father and mother out of his native village, 12 km from Brcko. He lost part of his leg below the knee, and as he walks with crutches, with the stump wrapped in a plastic bag, he tells about failing to save his parents. Both were killed by the Green Berets, at least that is what he was told by a Serbian fighter who had managed to get out of the village and brought him his mother's watch as a memento. "I do not know even where they are buried, but I still do not hate the Muslims; I hired a waitress who is a Muslim," Boro says. He is starting to go bald and is unshaven, and he looks like a man who suffers from insomnia. His coffeehouse is supporting six families of people disabled; that is what he decided. His business consists mostly of soldiers who when they have a few drinks sing and fire shots into the ceiling, which is already full of holes. They are of all ages and appearance. Vajo Djokic is only 21 and has the face of an American teenager. Perhaps because of his baseball cap. He insists on our taking 20 marks to buy flowers for his girl friends who are in a student dormitory in Belgrade. He is deaf to all arguments—"it makes sense only if I send the money from here"—and finally we suggest to him that if

they are away somewhere on vacation, we will leave the money in an envelope at the desk.

"No, buy the flowers before you go, and if they are not there, then leave the bouquet."

"But what if they do not come back for 10 days or two weeks?"

"Let them wilt."

Lukic Writes To Butrus-Ghali on Peace Efforts

LD0802224893 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2030 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Feb (TANJUG)—Vladimir Lukic, prime minister of the Serb Republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina], today sent a letter to UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali, informing him about talks which the Serb side had with a UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] delegation today in connection with humanitarian aid delivery to all parts of former Bosnia-Herzegovina, the SRNA reported this evening.

Saying that the Serb side has not rejected an initiative of General Morillon—who headed the UNPROFOR delegation—about ways of getting humanitarian aid to Muslim people in the Srebrenica and Cerska areas, Lukic draws Butrus-Ghali's attention to Serb efforts to establish peace in the entire territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"Only a comprehensive peace," the letter warns, "would also mean peace for Srebrenica and other disputed areas, and only such a peace would automatically get humanitarian aid to all parts of former Bosnia-Herzegovina."

The letter notes with regret that "General Morillon rejected the Serb proposal to put pressure on the Muslim side and on Alija Izetbegovic as far as a comprehensive peace is concerned," the SRNA reports.

Presidency Member Talks With Croat Army Chief

LD0802234593 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Text] Ejup Ganic, member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, met in Zagreb today with Croatian Assembly Speaker Stipe Mesic, and Gen Janko Bobetko, the Croatian Army chief of general staff.

They discussed bilateral relations and cooperation. Even some misunderstandings were discussed, hence the talks considered ways of overcoming them. The talks also discussed Bosnia-Herzegovina refugees who have found temporary refuge in Croatia. The talks considered the general political and security situation in this part of Europe.

Izetbegovic Cancels Planned Visit to Germany

LD0802151693 Hamburg DPA in German 1453 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Text] Bonn (DPA)—Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic today cancelled his planned visit to Germany this Wednesday [10 February], the German Foreign Ministry reports. No official reason has been given. According to reliable sources, however, Izetbegovic cancelled his consultations in Germany because of concern about the safety of flights to Sarajevo [as received].

Ministry: FRY Leaders Plan To Oust Karadzic

AU0802173993 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Text] Bosnia-Herzegovina's Internal Affairs Ministry has learned that word has spread among the domestic chetniks on the temporarily occupied territory of Ilidza that Dobrica Cosic [FRY president] and Momir Bulatovic [Montenegrin president] have recently proposed that Radovan Karadzic be removed as president of the so-called Serbian Republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina]. The story is that this is apparently a fait accompli and that Cosic and Bulatovic have managed to convince Slobodan Milosevic [Serbian president] that it has to be done because of the diplomatic pressure by the West, as well as for their own good and the future of their country. Ratko Mladic [Bosnian Serb army commander], the military executor, has apparently played a major part in that, as it was allegedly he who initiated the idea through top-ranking officers and Yugoslav Army Headquarters and some of his old colleagues from the counterintelligence service of the former Yugoslav People's Army in Belgrade. Mladic and Karadzic have clashed before over the constitution of authority in the so-called Serbian Republic. This story would not have produced a particular echo in Ilidza were it not for the emergence of another story that notes how Cosic and Bulatovic did not grant permission for army units to be sent to Krajina and that under increasing international pressure, Belgrade is seriously considering to do the same when it comes to the so-called Serbian Republic, says the statement by Bosnia-Herzegovina's Internal Affairs Ministry.

Rift Reported in Serb Delegation Over Maps

AU0802200593 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Text] The Bosnia-Herzegovina Ministry of Internal Affairs has information that there has apparently been a serious rift between the members of the aggressor's delegation that is representing the so-called Serbian Republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina] in front of the Security Council in New York.

Some harsh words have been exchanged between the war criminal Radovan Karadzic [Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina president] and his follower Momcilo Krajisnik [president of the Serbian Republic Assembly]. It all started with a discussion about the

aggressor's maps, when Karadzic proposed that the Muslims and Croats should be offered Ilidza, Rajlovac, Vogosca, and Ilijas in exchange for some other territories, but Krajisnik refused to endorse that proposal.

General Mladic Talks About Vance-Owen Map

93BA0530B Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian
22 Jan 93 p 11

[Interview with General Ratko Mladic, commander of the Army of the Serbian Republic, by Lidija Soldo in Pale; date not given: "The Map Is Not the Bible"]

[Text] We met General Ratko Mladic, commander of the Army of the Serbian Republic, in Pale. We talked about the principles for constitutional arrangement of Bosnia-Herzegovina (B-H), about military and political pressures on the Serbs, about ethnic maps and mapmakers, and about the list of war criminals made public by the Americans....

[Soldo] How do you interpret the "yes" of the deputies to Vance' and Owen's constitutional principles?

[Mladic] The vote of "yes" to the principles for constitutional arrangement of the future B-H does not mean that everything will be just as envisaged in that plan. The process of negotiation has just been initiated, and many problems still have not seen the light of day. I am convinced that the cochairmen and their team have wholeheartedly undertaken to resolve the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina out of a desire to solve it. But if that crisis is to be resolved, there have to be many other elements and facts in that complex mosaic. I hope that the international community will take into account the interests of the peoples who have lived or do live in these areas in Bosnia-Herzegovina. I hope that they will accept our desire that the situation not be resolved detrimentally to any of our nationalities, and if the other delegations in the negotiations also take that approach, the solution will be easy to find.

[Soldo] Do you think that the vote in favor of the principles offered will remove the danger of military intervention?

[Mladic] One of our deputies put it aptly: Whatever we vote, we face the same destiny. The international community will continue to put pressure on us and keep us in the blockade.

[Soldo] I suppose you have seen the map. Could you say how satisfied you are with it?

[Mladic] Perhaps it is early for me to express my opinion about maps, but they have been made with the skill that I would have, say, in drawing the boundaries of the departments of France; that is, they have been drawn to suit Croatia, and a great effort will have to be made to reach agreement on them.

[Soldo] Do you think that what is in dispute as far as the Serbs in B-H are concerned is the compactness of their territory or, on the other hand, the desire to link up with the Republic of Serbia?

[Mladic] We first have to proceed from the historical facts that the Serbian people has lived for centuries on the space of Bosnia-Herzegovina, that it has suffered here for centuries. The next question is ownership of the land. In some provinces, particularly the settlements, more than 60 percent of the area is land that belonged to the Serbs. But what is most in dispute is that province No. 3, where Croatia is supposed to be dominant, which has no logic at all. Or, on the other hand, province No. 6, which is divided into three entities and in which Sekovici Opstina, which has no economic or any other prospects of survival, is surrounded. This would be a dwarf state, and the people would not accept it. Decisions have to be made which the people will accept. The map is not the Bible. It was made by a man and should be corrected so that it meets the desires of all three nationalities on the space of the former B-H. But the maps will be debated in the further continuation of the Geneva negotiations.

[Soldo] In connection with the constitutional principles offered, what will happen to the Army of the Serbian Republic?

[Mladic] The Army of the Serbian Republic is its people. At this moment, I see no way to the kind of army they conceive of a future B-H, the same army in which there would be the Serb, the Muslim, and the Croat. There would be no harmony even in the parade units.

[Soldo] Do you feel uncomfortable about the fact that you were put on the list of war criminals which the Americans made public?

[Mladic] I would feel uncomfortable, but only if they had first published the list of those criminals who committed atrocities in Vietnam and on other battlefields of the world. I am defending here my people, which has been attacked. We did not declare war, we were attacked, and there have been atrocities on all three sides, on our side, as well as on the Muslim and Croatian sides. In wars, armies are equal in their deeds and misdeeds.

[Soldo] Do you agree with the assessment that the Muslims have been the greatest victims in this Bosnian war?

[Mladic] I do not know whose casualties are the greatest. This can be ascertained, and time will tell. Alija Izetbegovic is the president of the Muslims, and he caused this war. For that matter, even before the war he said that he would not regret losing even a million people to realize his objectives. It would be better to put those questions to him and Tudjman, not me.

President Tudjman Views Current Issues*LD0802175093 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in
Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 8 Feb 93*

[Monthly news conference given by Croatian President
Franjo Tudjman in Zagreb—live]

[Excerpts] [Unidentified journalist] Mr. President, although official results are not yet known, I would like to ask you to comment on the past elections, the turnout, regularity, and finally the results which, as I have said, have not yet been officially confirmed. Thank you very much.

[Tudjman] As you have just said, official results are not known but nonetheless, I think that we can say that the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] passed its test with these elections both from the legal and political point of view. The turnout was comparatively high—I don't know, I think about 70 percent, which is a comparatively high figure, but we don't know precisely. The election was conducted—from the legal and political point of view—in a satisfactory way. We had an opportunity to hear, once again, although I did not hear today's press conference for foreign observers, but from what I did hear they had no objections [sentence as heard]. The elections were regular with only one incident: One village protested that it was not part of another municipality. This is a negligible incident.

It seems to me that the elections indicated that Croatian democracy was on the right course. The HDZ, the largest party, apparently gained a majority both in the Chamber of Counties of the Croatian Assembly and, judging by some assessments, in most of the counties. This means that Croatian state policy will have the support of the majority of deputies both in the Assembly and in the counties, which will clearly be a factor of stability in our democratic system.

At the same time the elections indicated certain tendencies in Croatian political life which will increase the degree of seriousness in political life, if I can say so, because of the 158 parties we have today only three will remain on the political scene, i.e. playing an important role in political life, which is far more important for the political life itself. The elections also indicated that both the extreme right and the extreme left played a negligible role in Croatia. This illustrates mature political thinking among Croatian citizens and the stability of the Croatian democratic system. I think that these are essential factors of Croatian political life. In practice this means that a multitude of these parties, big and small, will disappear from the political scene and that only those will remain whose programs largely express the opinion of the electorate and readiness to actively participate in Croatian [political life] [passage indistinct].

[VJESNIK] Mr. President, could you please comment on yesterday's statement of Minister Susak that progress has

been made in the negotiations on the extension of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] mandate. Thank you.

[Tudjman] Minister Susak has not yet returned, so I am not familiar with details of those negotiations, but progress has been made because it was agreed that the implementation of the Vance plan is to be stipulated by an agreement. It is well known which aspects of the plan have so far been obstructed. The UNPROFOR has not made possible the return of displaced people, it has not disarmed Serbian paramilitary formations, and it has not incorporated the whole of Croatian territory into Croatia's constitutional and legal system. In this respect, therefore, progress has been made in the draft of a future agreement, and it is only on the basis of this that the Republic of Croatia can extend the mandate.

[Unidentified journalist] Will Croatia ask NATO to use its influence, and possibly its forces, to solve the problem?

[Tudjman] [words indistinct] if the peace forces cannot fulfill their task alone, NATO forces should be behind the [UN] peace forces to make sure that the peace plan, i.e. the Vance plan can be implemented.

[Unidentified journalist] [words indistinct] will you be able to [adhere] to the plan, given that for the time being NATO is unwilling to come in?

[Tudjman] We will be extremely flexible in order to achieve a peaceful solution for the UN-protected areas. But, of course, we will under no circumstances agree to infinite occupation of part of Croatian territory. We will try to incorporate these areas into Croatia's constitutional and legal order without military operations in order to save lives, but as I said before, and Croatia has proved it in the incident with the Maslenica area, we will not tolerate infinite delays.

[Unidentified journalist] [words indistinct] a meeting of Central European countries, a summit in Zagreb [words indistinct] in February. Can you say when this meeting will take place and what will be on the agenda, since we know which countries will take part? Thank you very much.

[Tudjman] As you can see, instead of this summit meeting we gave priority to meetings of experts because we are preoccupied with Croatian problems. [passage indistinct]

A delegation of the community of Islamic countries has visited Croatia and its secretary general said he was convinced that only Croatia, of all countries in Europe, has offered help to Bosnia-Herzegovina. In this respect there are no problems at all. On the contrary, cooperation between Croatia and Islamic countries does exist. Understandably, the conflict between Muslim and Croatian, i.e. Croatian Defense Council units in Bosnia-Herzegovina has raised a number of questions.

As for the conversation I had with Iranian President Rafsanjani—he called me personally and appealed for cooperation between Croats and Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina—I explained to him that we had been in favor of such cooperation from the very beginning but that, unfortunately, due to some extreme, some actions by extremists in the Muslim ranks, conflicts have arisen. I also explained to him that I personally called both Mr. Izetbegovic and Mr. Boban saying that it was up to them to develop this cooperation—full cooperation between Muslims and Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This is not the problem of Croatia but the problem of the attitude of Croatian people and Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is obvious that the conflicts there have a very negative effect on the entire Croatian public, and we expect that the Muslim leadership there will be capable of stopping them. It is interesting to note that the conflicts broke out in those provinces, which according to the Geneva agreement, have a majority Croatian administration. It seems that there has been no rapprochement in New York concerning the future organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and we will wait and see what will happen at the UN Security Council session.

[Unidentified journalist] Mr. President, how would you comment the decision by the Serbs from Knin not to take part in peace negotiations in New York and do you really believe that the occupied territories will be returned to Croatia in a peaceful way?

[Tudjman] Several generals have arrived in Knin, Mladic, Vuk Obradovic and some others, one of whom was wounded. Allegedly 1,500 to 2,000 chetnik volunteers have arrived from Serbia, Kosovo, and also from Bosnia. These new chetnik units have brought even more extremism to Knin's attitude, but there are signs of considerable differences between them. The fact that they did not respond to the invitation to take part in the talks on a political solution indicates that currently the extreme Greater Serbian chetnik attitude is prevailing. However, I think that they will have to cool down.

As for my belief in a peaceful solution, I did not say that I believed that a solution will be found peacefully, but that the Croatian authorities will do their best to arrive at a peaceful solution. To this end we have created political prerequisites in the legal sense by passing a special constitutional law and through amnesty and abolition [as heard]. We have also held talks with some representatives of the Serbs from the area of the so-called Krajina, who are tired of the terror committed by Serbian extremists and who would like to see normalization in the relations with Croatia. We have also done everything possible to suggest a normalization of relations between Croatia and Serbia, that is their Yugoslavia, and to accept such offers from their side. We will, therefore, continue to do everything toward a peaceful solution, but let me repeat yet again, we will not tolerate endless occupation of Croatian territory.

[Howard] Jane Howard, BBC. What effect do you think the fact that there was fighting in some areas such as Zadar had on the way people voted elections?

[Tudjman] [words indistinct] not only shelling, but they also launched counterattacks yesterday, trying to regain areas around Novigrad in the Zadar region. This had a certain, but not crucial, effect on the turn-out of the Croatian population for the elections, and of course, they prevented the participation of Serbs in occupied areas.

[Unidentified foreign journalist in English, with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] This foreign journalist refers to fighting in some areas of Croatia. He mentions Zupanja, where the HDZ, however, won a convincing victory. He is asking for a comment on the results of the voting in Istria. He says that a local party, which won there requests some kind of autonomy, greater than in the past regime.

[Tudjman] Istria will have as much autonomy as all other counties. No more and no less. Your remark is correct that there are now more problems than during the communist regime. This is because we have more democracy now. I believe however that sensible elements will prevail in the Istrian Democratic Alliance, elements that see Istria as a constituent part of Croatia and the Istrians as a constituent part of the Croatian nation, although there are in this party certain extremist elements which advocate regionalism according to which Istria should appear as a separate unit. [passage omitted]

Concerning the Italian minority, they will be granted all rights guaranteed by our constitutional laws for ethnic communities and national minorities, but we will also bring up the issue of the Croatian national minority in Italy, which is larger than the Italian minority in Croatia.

[Unidentified journalist] Mr. President, can we expect a radical change in U.S. policy on Bosnia-Herzegovina on 10 February or 11 February, and do you find NATO Chief Woerner's speech indicative in this respect?

[Tudjman] I cannot answer your question on what the government of President Clinton is going to do. I would dare say, however, on the basis of my knowledge of the problem and international relations, that there will be no crucial, major changes. Understandably, the international community, the EC, and even NATO in Europe, since you mentioned Mr. Woerner, the United Nations and the United States, must take some concrete measures. They will either accept the Vance-Owen plan or else, they will modify it to some extent. In any case they will have to take some concrete measures to start the implementation of this plan, even if in a somewhat modified form. To this end I expect that there will be more defined results and decisions than has been the case hitherto.

[Unidentified journalist, in English] [words indistinct] from Washington. Is there anything you can do to help stop the rape of women in this war?

[Tudjman] [words indistinct] by active self-defense in Bosnia-Herzegovina the areas where most of the Croatian, and partly Muslim, population live. Croatia, for its part, has urged its population in Croatia itself as well as the Croatian population in Bosnia-Herzegovina to stick to human principles and allow for international supervision across the entire territory controlled by Croatia. We support the proposition that an international war crimes tribunal be set up. Only such a move, such resolve on the part of the international community, can prevent brutal and unfortunate events such as rape, and not only rape but everything else this terrible war has brought about, first on Croatian soil and then in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Speaks on NATO, Peace Plan, Attacks

LD0802172493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1632 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Text] Zagreb, February 8 (TANJUG)—Croatian President Franjo Tudjman on Monday [8 February] said that he had asked that troops of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) be included in the implementation of the peace plan of cochairman of the International Conference on Former Yugoslavia Cyrus Vance.

The United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) is in charge of implementing the Vance plan and they have been deployed in the territory of the Republic of Serb Krajina since March last year.

At the same time, Tudjman confirmed at a press conference that progress had been made in talks with the two cochairmen of the conference, Vance and Lord Owen, on extending the mandate of UNPROFOR in Croatia.

The Croatian president and other high-ranking republican officials on several occasions said that they would not agree to an extension of the UNPROFOR mandate unless they enable Croatia to establish its sovereignty over the Krajina territories.

Serbs proclaimed the Republic of Serb Krajina in 1991 in territories where they have long been the majority population in reaction to Croatia's secession from former Yugoslavia. Croatia has no authority over Krajina and its laws are not valid there.

Tudjman told the press conference that Croatia would not wait "forever" to establish its sovereignty over territories, which are now protected by the United Nations (U.N.). "Croatia has demonstrated this in the case of Maslenica," he said.

Croatia on January 22 this year again attacked Krajina in its sector south, near the region of Maslenica. The attacks have been underway now for 17 days, in spite of a U.N. Security Council resolution demanding an end to hostilities and the withdrawal of Croatian troops to their previous positions.

During the attack on Krajina, Croatian troops killed around 1,000 people, including over 830 civilians and two French UNPROFOR soldiers. There are no Serbs left

in most of the attacked or occupied Serb villages, and more than 10,000 women, children, and elderly people have fled to other parts of Krajina.

Asked about relations between Croatia and Moslem countries, Tudjman said that there was cooperation between them, but that the conflict between Moslem extremists and Croatian troops in Bosnia-Herzegovina "has opened [word indistinct] questions."

Tudjman also said that stands on the Bosnian problem between Moslems and Croats have not gotten any closer in New York, where the Geneva Conference on Bosnia-Herzegovina has been adjourned.

Commander of Serb Army Comments on Casualties

AU0802153593 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Report by Milos Rajkovic from Krajina]

[Excerpt] Colonel Kosta Novakovic, deputy commander of the general staff of the Serbian army, has stated that so far 109 Serb fighters have been killed and 353 wounded, of whom some 100 have already recovered and returned to their combat units. According to the information of the general staff, the losses on the Croatian side are much greater.

Colonel Novakovic rejected the claims by Cedric Thornberry, deputy UNPROFOR commander for civil matters, that Serb territorials opened fire on the UN plane the day before yesterday from 23-mm guns in the region of Kosijesko Selo. Our forces do not have such guns, and, by the way, on that day UNPROFOR did not inform us about any flights by its planes. [passage omitted]

RSK Army 'Advancing Toward Maslenica Bridge'

AU0802151693 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Excerpt] According to the latest information received by the ISKRA agency from Knin, the Army of the Republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK] is advancing toward Maslenica Bridge. The RSK Army, turning active defense into a counterattack on part of the front around Novigrad on the sea, has pushed the Croatian Army from Pridraga and Novigrad itself toward Paljuv. As our correspondent Danko Peric reports, there is a lot of evidence that the Croats have suffered enormous losses and that there is a rift among them. [passage omitted]

Prime Minister Appeals to UN on Croat Expulsions

LD0802153693 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Excerpts] Croatian Prime Minister Hrvoje Sarinic today sent the following letter to UN Secretary General Butros Butros-Ghali:

Your excellency, the Republic of Croatia is at present subjected to war operations, whose aim is to destroy other members of the Croatian people in UN protected areas in Sector South and its outskirts. The FRY, voluntary units, and paramilitary units of the so-called Knin authorities are erasing the last traces of the Croatian people in this area, expelling hundreds of people and destroying their homes and property. [passage omitted]

In the UN-protected area between Knin and the Miljevica plateau—Sector South and the so-called Pink Zone—about 900 Croats are subjected to terror, robbery, and [word indistinct] (?killings). [passage omitted]

The territory of the Republic of Croatia, formally under UN protection, is a place of terror and genocide. Other members of the Croatian nation are the hostages of foreign paramilitaries and outlaws [words indistinct] the Republic of Croatia. The efforts of the Croatian Government and the ones made by UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] members and EC observers are at present insufficient to halt these crude violations of war rights and international humanitarian rights [as heard]. We are appealing, your excellency, for your resolute action and the action of the UN Security Council in freeing all hostages quickly and in ensuring effective and lasting protection for the Croatian people in this area.

So far, about 3,000 people have been expelled from the UN-protected area in the Republic of Croatia and about 500 killed, Prime Minister Sarinic said in his letter to UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali.

Serb Krajina Army Denies Attacking German Plane

LD0802171093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1606 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Text] Knin, 8 Feb (TANJUG)—The republic of Serbian Krajina Army spokesman today rejected any possibility of Krajina's involvement in the incident with the German plane carrying humanitarian aid for Sarajevo.

"First, we do not have the kind of weapons which were used in the attack on the German plane," Colonel Kosta Novakovic, Serbian Krajina Army spokesman, stressed at a regular news conference in Knin.

Novakovic also said that every humanitarian flight must be reported, adding that UN Protection Force helicopters fly over Krajina everyday.

'Liberation' of Novigrad by Serb Forces Expected

LD0802200193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1935 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Text] Knin, 8 Feb (TANJUG)—Street battles are being waged in Novigrad, a TANJUG correspondent learned tonight from the command of Krajina forces in Obrovac.

According to this command's estimates, liberation by the Serbian forces of this town, less than five kilometers south of Maslenica, "will be in a matter of hours."

'Street to Street Fighting' Reported

AU0802212693 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Report by Milos Rajkovic from Knin]

[Excerpt] Today, the 18th day of the Croatian attack on the territory of the republic of Serbian Krajina, is again marked by fierce fighting on the Obrovac and Benkovac fronts.

Throughout the afternoon, the Croatian forces shelled Obrovac. The headquarters of the Serbian Army, in turn, lodged a protest with the UN Protection Force Command in Zagreb. Unless these attacks stop, we will fire at targets in Zadar, the protest stresses.

On the other hand, the Serbian forces have undertaken a strong offensive in the direction of Novigrad and Pridraga. I have just found out from the command of the Serbian units in Obrovac that there is street to street fighting in Novigrad, and that it is a matter of hours before that little town is again under Serbian control. [passage omitted]

Coastal Town of Sibenik Shelled

LD0802234193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Text] After launching small-scale armed attacks along the entire battle line in the Sibenik municipality throughout the day, the enemy has attacked the town itself. Artillery shells were fired toward Sibenik after 2200 this evening. As a result a general alert was sounded for Sibenik, Bilice, Lozovac, Zaton and Raslina.

Army Repels Serbian Attacks in Zadar Area

LD0802234893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Excerpt] As we reported earlier, the enemy has been launching small-scale artillery attacks on the entire Zadar area in the past few days and this evening. Units of the Croatian Army have successfully repelled all attacks and are in control of the liberated area.

The enemy intermittently shelled all defense lines of the Sibenik area using all types of weapons. The enemy opened fire most frequently from the occupied part of the Skradin hinterland. There were no casualties on the Croatian side and no defense line has been moved. [passage omitted]

Skrabalo Favors Maintenance of Bosnian Embargo*AU0802114993 Vienna DER STANDARD in German
8 Feb 93 p 3*

[Report by Samo Kobenter: "Fear of Orthodox Military Communism"]

[Text] Zagreb/Vienna—The reason for the Croatian military action in the Dalmatian hinterland was their dissatisfaction with the so far unsuccessful efforts of the West to establish peace in the Balkans. This is the conclusion reached by Croatian Foreign Minister Zdenko Skrabalo in an interview with DER STANDARD.

The guidelines of the new Croatian foreign policy are characterized by a clear distance from the mandate of the UN troops, which will expire on 21 February: "We will not agree to extending the UN mandate if it does not contain a clear extension of the powers of the troops stationed here," Skrabalo stresses. The UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] looked on passively while Serbian militia opened the arms depots under UN control and armed themselves.

Even though his country does not have any problems with solving the conflict with the Krajina Serbs by military means, it prefers peaceful ways of settling the conflict: "We are sure that the uprisings of the Serbs in Croatia are fanned by a few thousand extremists. If they can be isolated and their umbilical cord to Belgrade can be severed, the matter will be over."

In the future it will be important to make the "silent peaceful majority" of Serbs in Croatia cooperate. The legal preconditions for that have already been established: The rebels will be guaranteed full autonomy, from which only war criminals will be excluded. "Of course, the Serbs are supposed to continue to live in their autonomous settlement areas," Skrabalo insists. There will certainly not be any "ethnic cleansings" by the Croatian side.

Skrabalo does not think that the latest conflicts between Croats and Muslims in neighboring Hercegovina are particularly important. They are locally restricted and "almost over": "We have evidence that the shootings between Croats and Muslims were ordered by some local commanders of the Bosnian Army. The Serbian intelligence service had a hand in that. Many of the Muslim officers were in the Yugoslav Army in the past. This was supposed to torpedo the Geneva negotiations."

However, without stationing a strong international peace force there will not be any peace in Bosnia. Lifting the arms embargo against Bosnia would be useful only in connection with a military intervention, because otherwise the country would be threatened with "an unimaginable bloodbath."

The awakening of Muslim fundamentalist movements does not pose an actual danger to West Europe, however,

since they are contrary to the Bosnian mentality: "I rather fear a strengthening of orthodox communist forces. Imagine if, in Russia, Boris Yeltsin were to be replaced by a politician a la Milosevic."

Then the strong Army of the former Soviet Union, dominated by communists, would have a reason for existence in a sphere of interest that would reach via Serbia to the Mediterranean.

Operation of Zagreb Stock Market Explained*93BA0527C Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian
22 Jan 93 p 7*

[Article by mb: "The Brokers Are Coming"]

[Text] Every Thursday at 1000 hours in the Zagreb Stock Exchange 30 brokers are selling or buying the shares of the Croatian Development Fund. The initial (nominal) price of the share is determined, it is sold in blocks of 100 shares, at the outset they are sold in a series of 10 blocks (1,000 shares), but if there is no interest, the number of blocks is reduced. Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays they trade in the third series of shares which have already been sold in Croatia Airlines. Shares in that firm (the nominal value is 100 German marks [DM]) are worth DM84 on the exchange at the moment. The volume achieved so far on the exchange is DM3,567,069, or 1,250,151,379 dinars. The exchange had its largest volume at the auction on 17 December of last year, when the fund offered for sale 5 percent of its shares in VECERNJI LIST, which "caught fire" and brought in proceeds of DM1.5 million. Other shares belonging to the fund (the state) offered at the permanent auction are those of Elcon D.D., Farmacija D.D., and Gric D.D., which are doing relatively well, but also those of a dozen other firms in which no one is interested. Firms which are not the property of the fund are also sold on the exchange. Thus, Jadranka and Arenaturist were sold relatively quickly. The firm Burza D.D., which is the exchange itself, a joint stock company, takes 0.06 percent of the value of sales, and it is from that that it pays salaries to the five employees. Some of its income also comes from the membership dues of the brokers.

There are 15 banks and 14 brokerage houses with a total of 30 brokers registered on the exchange. They have taken the course for brokers organized by the exchange with the help of the Canadian Securities Institute in Toronto. A seminar was recently organized for new brokers on Brioni in collaboration with the Federation of Exchanges of the EC, the Pacific Exchange in Los Angeles, and the English brokerage house Smith New Court. The seminar lasted a week at a price of DM650. The best brokerage house in Croatia is Investco, and the two best brokers are teachers by profession (one teaches physical education and the other literature and philosophy). That brokerage has already rented its third office, and their owner and the brokers themselves, who started out with no capital, have today become owners of BMW's and Mercedeses. "The exchange has been fully

prepared for normal operation," says Zeljko Kardum, who does public relations for the institution, "and we are operating normally. The only problem is that the government-owned enterprises and joint stock companies still have not realized that the true value of a share of stock is the one set on the exchange in the competition among the brokers, not the one that is written on it.

There are quite a few people interested in brokering (if it still can be called that) on the exchange; they have their section and can constantly monitor the value of the shares being quoted, and they have a view of the main hall where the brokers sell or buy goods that are offered. Kardum cautions that many firms are still not registered on the exchange, that the government still has not offered them its bonds for reconstruction, although it has announced this. He says that many people still have not realized that they cannot know how much shares are worth until they are offered on the exchange. "A share of stock is not worth what is written on it, but as much as it can be sold for on a particular day." However, privatization is having its effect. From the initial funereal atmosphere, in which the main events were stories of pensioners about prewar exchange brokering, today this is nevertheless an institution with regular working hours, regular brokerage rituals, and a constant flow of accurate information; all that still remains is for the market and privatization to turn the handsome hall of the exchange into the restless battlefield of competing brokers before an audience that will include not just observers, but interested individuals who will change color with the rise or fall of certain securities. Or, as Zeljko Kardum says, "we have prepared the garden plot, all that is left now is to bring the potatoes."

Zagreb Export Firm Transformation Viewed

93BA0527B Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian
22 Jan 93 p 6

[Article by mb: "How Exportdrvo Was Sold"]

[Text] The firm Exportdrvo Zagreb, until recently socially owned, has entirely completed its transformation: 98 percent of the firm has become private property of natural not juridical persons, and they are mainly persons employed in the firm, and only slightly less than 2 percent has gone unsold, that is, has become the property of the state, that is, of the Development Fund.

The agency assessed the firm at slightly over 31 million German marks [DM] (DM31,101,931, that is, 4,385,372,200 dinars—at that time the exchange rate was 140,000). The number of shares issued was 311,019, and the face value of each was DM100. The number sold was 305,154, and they were purchased by 849 purchasers.

The value of the shares sold is greater than DEM30 million (30,615,400), which means that DM586,531 (1.89 percent) are left for the Development Fund. The decision of the agency allowing the transformation was adopted on 28 July 1992. Under the contract of that firm with the agency, all the purchasers are in the country, they are natural persons, and they will all make payments in installments (they will pay for the shares by a certain date, and no one purchased the shares all at once—in cash).

We learned in a conversation with Danijel Vidis, who is responsible for finances in that firm, that the entire process was done on the principle of partnership. Certain rankings were done as the basis for assigning certain shares to be paid off in a certain time that was stipulated in the contract with the agency. Thus, all the workers took shares, they all received manager loans from the bank, and the bank took mortgages on houses, apartments, and real estate from them all as guarantees.

No one in the enterprise purchased more than 10 percent of the value of the shares, and that is why, Vidis says, there is no need to publish the names of the first 10 persons who hold the largest value of shares. The firm is doing a good business, it is opening new sales space, and a change in its method of operation has been noted, because now all the employees are interested in the way it does business and the results of the business and are seeking a way to improve processes and to correct irregularities that have been noted.

The people in the firm expect that even this year they will be able to pay at least a symbolic dividend. The general director in the new privatized enterprise is the same as in the firm that was socialized until recently—Mr. Marko Zupan, and Jurica Pavelic, a former deputy prime minister of Croatia, has also gone back to his old firm, where he was previously one of the directors.

That is how Exportdrvo Zagreb looks at the beginning of its "private" life, according to official figures.

Federal**Foreign Minister Views Peace Process**

*AU0902083993 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian
29 Jan 93 pp 15-17*

[Interview with Yugoslav Foreign Minister Ilija Djukic by Dusan Miklja in Belgrade; date not given: "Tudjman's Dangerous Adventure"]

[Text] The guest of our editorial office, the Foreign Minister Ilija Djukic, with a moderate but soothing optimism, expressed his belief that something is changing with regard to the Yugoslav crisis. According to Djukic, it seems that the time has come when things are becoming ever clearer, depending on who views them. This was the opening statement in the conversation with the man who thinks that there are no indiscrete questions—there are only indiscrete answers. And the first question reads: What can we expect from the future, after everything that happened in Geneva?

[Djukic] The Geneva conference is dedicated above all to loosening the entangled, difficult, dramatic, I would even say tragic, knot called Bosnia-Herzegovina. Our role there is that of a mediator. Probably, in the final phase, it is supposed to be that of a witness, as well. I refer to the act of signing all the documents. However, we are a long way from reaching that point.

We went to Geneva with a good and positive balance of accounts. Radovan Karadzic's [Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina president] decision to accept in principal the constitution bill that was decided upon last time, provided that the Assembly of the Serbian Republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina also gave its recommendation on the matter—which was advised by President Dobrica Cosic, President Milosevic, and President Bulatovic in the final phase of that round—is indubitably in our favor. It showed, first and foremost, the maturity of the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina, their determination to find solutions for any disputed questions among three peoples through peaceful, democratic consensus. As for the FRY, in which the motherland of the Serbian people resides, it cannot neglect the interests of Serbs who remained out of its borders on account of well-known circumstances.

Unfortunately, we were very tense, because the third round was marked by the shadow of the Croatian aggression, criminal aggression on the Republic of Serbian Krajina, that is supposed to be protected by the United Nations.

[NIN] The Croatian side claims that the raid was announced, that Zagreb officially gave notice of its intentions to the Conference on Yugoslavia cochairmen Vance and Owen, and even Butrus-Ghali himself. Is that true? If so, what is your opinion of such cooperation?

[Djukic] The resolution that was adopted by the Security Council denies that. The question of traffic across the Maslenica pass, I cannot say bridge because it no longer exists, was certainly discussed among the Croats, UN representatives, and the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] representatives. There were obviously some letters sent to New York by President Tudjman. Finally, that question was also discussed by Vance and Owen in the talks with Yugoslav representatives. However, they never, and I underline never, at least when discussing the matter with us, mentioned any violent solution....

[NIN] That is to say, a blitz raid.

[Djukic] Absolutely never! I want to stress one more thing. The Yugoslav side underlined every time that such questions must be solved in a direct dialogue between the authorities in Zagreb and authorities in Krajina.

[NIN] All right then, if it is a lie, propaganda, does it have to have its price? And what price could it be?

[Djukic] I am beginning to think that there are some outside forces that might have an interest in such Croatian action. Perhaps it is not decent to name them, but there are at least two or three countries whose entire propaganda, entire press, entire media, are completely ill-disposed to Vance and Owen's coming up with a sound peace plan. And the people know which countries I refer to. Therefore I think that the raid is a result of the common interests of certain forces in Croatia and abroad.

The sole fact that the aggression on Krajina started at the moment when we were finally scoring initial, but significant results at the Conference, should be noted and further analyzed. Which are the forces that are pursuing further destabilization? Who are the actual warlords? Those are the questions that must be answered.

[NIN] How do you explain the lack of proportion, or in other words, how do your aides explain it to the world? It would be natural if Croatia's conduct were to end up with certain consequences like, for instance, sanctions.

[Djukic] There is no doubt that Croatia has had powerful protectors backing its actions. If they were hidden, how and how much they acted—these questions have already been, and will further be the subjects of analysis. They have undoubtedly encouraged Croatia in its war activities. The recognition that one can break assumed responsibilities without being punished led to this catastrophic action by [Croatian President Franjo] Tudjman and his armed forces.

However, the moment must come, and it seems that it has already come, when things start to clear up, or become entirely clear, depending on who is concerned. The Security Council's resolution has responded to the basic demands and views of the FRY, as well as to the statements given by the leading people of the FRY and Serbia. These are the clear and precise condemnations of the Croatian aggression. The demand for the withdrawal

of Croatian troops, protection of the Serbian civilians, and protection of the UNPROFOR units is also clearly stated. The statements given during the session—I have to point out that the resolution was unanimously adopted—make me believe that the United Nations and the Security Council will also implement the resolution. Of course, we shall see if it is implemented, but for the time being we can be satisfied.

[NIN] How much did this Croatian raid damage the Croatian position, and how much did it “improve,” if I can put it that way, the Serbian?

[Djukic] Perhaps we might now be on the turning point, and I would certainly like that.

It became clear who is the aggressor, and who is the victim. It became clear who abides by agreements, and who breaks them, who is really interested in the peace process, that is to say a political solution of the crisis, and who wants to generate new bloodshed.

I think the publicity that the Croatian action caused in the world media, cannot be enjoyable for those who started it. Of course, there is still no considerable change in opinion, there are old views, habits, prejudices, that still make people believe that it is the Serbian, or Yugoslav, side that is the main guilty party.

[NIN] There is the impression in the public that the Yugoslav, or rather Serbian side has not yet been informed of all the conditions. Whenever we think that we have reached the end, that there is nothing left to be demanded, we hear something new. Is that, perhaps, the reason, this unfinished screenplay, if such a thing exists, for this attitude in the international media?

[Djukic] Formally, we know the conditions, because we know the contents of all resolutions and documents on the Yugoslav crisis that have been endorsed so far.

On the other hand, there is a generator of conditions and demands that is incessantly active, so that the expectations are never finally defined, and sometimes are even arbitrarily defined. That generator is trying to create new relations in Europe, to create a new world order.

The events have evolved so fast that the region of the former Yugoslavia has become one of the major test areas for the implementation of these still undefined relations and the undefined new order. Our fate is that we are situated in an area of immense strategic and political importance, and besides, it represents a sublimated contradiction, a mixture of different civilizations, religions, and peoples.

[NIN] If we are chosen by chance, or by fate, to be victims, what are we to do now in order to improve our position?

[Djukic] We have already officially put forward reconsideration of the embargo issue. It is about time we

talked it over with the United Nations, and got precise answers regarding the real nature of embargo, and how long it will last.

[NIN] There has been speculation of Russia's endorsing the demand for imposing sanctions on Croatia, too. It is quite a change in Russian attitude. But, what are the chances of other relevant people in the Security Council changing their views?

[Djukic] It is becoming more and more apparent that the views of the main international factors are not unanimous. This fact was not so visible before. Differences have been getting more and more obvious. Do not let us forget that Russia still stands as a great power and an important international factor, but the circumstances for displaying it are not so favorable. Also one must not forget the fact that we have just witnessed a change of the administration in the United States.

[NIN] How much did the Croatian raid change relations in our country? It seems that Croats initiated something they did not actually want—they united some quarreling and mutually opposed Serbian politicians.

[Djukic] If you are referring to the political views expressed in Geneva, there are no differences between the attitudes of the federation and the republics. There are no differences between the views of [FRY President Dobrica] Cosic, [Serbian President Slobodan] Milosevic, and [Montenegrin President Momir] Bulatovic. There is no politician who is opposed to the basic, do not let me say minimal, national goals and state interest. However, certain differences still exist, and it would not be good to use such important issues as causes, or reasons, for mutual accusations, for achieving short-range goals. I trust the maturity of our political scene and its protagonists. I believe in the need for a consensus regarding the state and national aims. That is what our people surely need the most.

[NIN] The FRY was recently visited by the Danish and the Norwegian prime ministers. The Norwegian minister gave the impression of goodwill, he expressed the wish for dialogue, he wanted to learn things, while the Danish minister behaved in a very brusque and prejudiced manner. Is that not contradictory, that the FRY has been asked to play an important role in the negotiations—and that role is probably not as great as the international public want it to be—and then there come the people who simply do not acknowledge a dialogue?

[Djukic] In a certain way the visit of the Norwegian foreign minister, as well as that of the Italian foreign minister before, gave a really encouraging impression. These were visits from representatives of those countries that are truly interested not only in settling the Yugoslav crisis, but also in cooperation with the FRY.

However, the Danish Foreign Minister Mr. Ellemann-Jensen, who came also as the chairman of the European Council of the EC, immediately started off with excessive statements and demands. The rudest expression of

his reads: "Coexistence or no existence." He said that he was citing a Danish poet, but we felt insulted, and of course reacted right away.

We further accept the mediating role of the EC, but, regardless of all, we cannot allow a take-it-or-leave-it level of talks. We said that to Ellemann-Jensen.

[NIN] It is not just Ellemann-Jensen and his style, it is the general attitude of Denmark. One small country shows more anger and readiness to deliver accusations and threats to the account of Serbia and Serbs than the great powers do. The Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences received an icy letter from the Danish Royal Academy reading: Do not send us your books any longer!

[Djukic] One can hardly expect that those who until recently were engaged only in the problems of trade and the coordination of their markets, should be able to instantly deal with complicated European political issues and crises in a subtle, exemplary way.

[NIN] In circumstances of total excommunication, who can talk with conscientious politicians like the Danish one? We know that the Federal Foreign Affairs Service [SSIP], just like many other federal institutions, was composed of many different, even questionable, people. Some of them are supposed to have advocated the interests of the other side, or sides. For instance, the chief of the cabinet of our former foreign minister distinguished himself by purchasing arms for Croatia. In view of such things, has our diplomacy at this moment enough people at its disposal who are willing and able enough to direct their effort toward their country?

[Djukic] Our diplomacy shared the country's destiny. It could not have been either better, or worse than the former Yugoslavia had been. And it is quite natural that it split, that one part of the staff fell away.

In view of our goals in international policy—the stabilization of the country, protection of peace, and constant, successful commitment to the Serbian issue, that fortunately has become an international issue—the FRY needs a foreign ministry of a different caliber. A different, modern service.

[NIN] Does that mean that this ministry, such as it is now, is not capable of fulfilling its tasks?

[Djukic] It is capable, but I do not speak of capability, it is rather a certain surplus that I speak of. The new ministry will indeed be reduced to a half of its present personnel—350 people will be dismissed not because of their incapability, but because the new state does not need so large an apparatus. I fully understand the anxiety and uneasiness of those people, but we cannot maintain irrationality just because of sympathy for them. Finally, I want to say: No one will be thrown out on the street! Everybody will receive the guaranteed full amount of one or two years' salary. And their dismissal is not final, it does not mean that there is no chance of their ever returning.

[NIN] You have mentioned peace as one of the aims for which the Yugoslav diplomacy has persistently been working. President Milosevic spoke of that aim in his Assembly speech, when taking his oath. How much does the fact that Serbia and the FRY are denoted as the main peace-breakers bother you in performing your duties? How much are you concerned with the fact that certain paramilitary formations were really conceived here? You are the foreign minister of a country whose capital city has been referred to as a large money laundry? How much have you been concerned with it?

[Djukic] Belgrade is where I have lived for a very long time, I have spent most of my life here. It is my city. It can be ugly and grimy, but I love it. And I am very sorry that it has started to have a different reputation. I would like to remind you, though, that Milosevic has many times emphasized peace, economic development, the fight against crime, as primary goals. Such an orientation represents, as I see it, the foundation for improving the reputation of Belgrade and Yugoslavia, as well as for lifting the sanctions and the embargo. That is the only way for Yugoslavia to get the position in the international community to which it is rightfully entitled. Undoubtedly, such occurrences as you have mentioned exist. There is crime, money-laundering, and consequently the rapid impoverishment of people. The existence of paramilitary formations is a public secret.

I believe that Milosevic kept all that in mind when he talked about fighting crime. I do not think that it will be an easy task, on the contrary. Serious efforts at all levels—municipal, republic, federal—will have to be made in order to eliminate such occurrences. This refers not only to Serbia, but also to the entire space of the FRY. We can change the situation that threatens to become unbearable only by resolute and organized action. However, we cannot bring about stability without peace, and crime always flourishes where there is no economic welfare.

Of course, in view of the media campaign against the FRY, there is a lot of exaggeration. We are right now in a situation where our entire nation is being demonized. Just look at what is happening in Bosnia—the Serbs are considered to be the only guilty party there. And all Serbs, without distinction, have been accused, although the other two parties behave the same way. Of course, the guilt of others does not justify our guilt.

[NIN] Are you being asked questions regarding that issue in discussions with ministers and ambassadors of other countries?

[Djukic] Yes, they do ask me such questions, or at least express their puzzlement. I have to say that it is very difficult to explain what is happening to us.

[NIN] The deceased Dusan Radovic said on the occasion when a wild animal, I think it was a lion, escaped from the zoo, that one should also let some other animal loose, so that the lion could chase it. The Serbian paramilitary units were originally sowing fear among the Serbia's

enemies in regions at war, and now they do it here, in Belgrade and Serbia. We have heard many pledges and proclamations about the fight against crime and unlawfulness, however there have been few facts. Now we see every now and then politics and crime being ever more merged, and ever more successfully acting together.

[Djukic] That is why I say how difficult it is to explain the present situation. I think that we need synchronized authorities on all levels—the municipal, the republic, and the federal level. Otherwise, there will be no success.

[NIN] Would you, please, tell us finally—I suppose that you might know it—if there have been any secret arrangements with Croats and Muslims? We always hear phrases like: Milosevic has promised this, Cosic has promised that, Tudjman has also promised.... Are there any arrangements behind closed doors? Do the representatives of the ethnic communities in Bosnia also meet hidden from the eyes of the public?

[Djukic] I cannot say for sure that there have been separate, direct, discrete, or secret talks among the warring factions. However, I know for sure that some serious talks among the representatives of peoples living in Bosnia-Herzegovina have started. The subject of the talks is the division into provinces, what they are they will look like. The talks are taking place in Geneva, initiated by the peace proposal given by Vance and Owen. I took part in one of those talks. Of course, the FRY is not a participant in the conference, and it cannot decide on the division of territories in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[NIN] What were your feelings when listening to that dialogue?

[Djukic] One feels quite bad when one witnesses a territory, considered until yesterday to be indivisible and common to everybody, falling apart. However, the grim reality is, unfortunately, unchangeable.

Serbia

Jovanovic Views U.S., Russian, German Policy

AU0902102593 Belgrade INTERVJU in Serbo-Croatian
5 Feb 93 pp 17-19

[Interview with Vladislav Jovanovic, Serbian Minister of Foreign Affairs, by Slavoljub Kacarevic; place and date not given: "Disorder Rather Than a New Order"]

[Excerpts] *"The new masters of the world are now trying to transfer Croatia's responsibility to us, just as they did earlier, in addition to which they are blaming us for the unsuccessful outcome of the Geneva conference. Such are these battles. They are ruthless, without any scruples, principles, or morals. What is more, they have no counterbalance. They are the absolute masters of the world and this is a very unjust battle we are waging."*

This is how Vladislav Jovanovic, Serbian Foreign Minister, describes Serbia's present international position. He also draws attention to the opponent's weaknesses: They are losing patience, and they are getting worked up because they thought that they could square accounts with us and our rights more quickly. Since that did not happen and things dragged out and became more complicated, the Yugoslav crisis has become a dangerous precedent that tomorrow might be invoked by other legitimate forces in the world who are also fighting to defend their interests. This restlessness is giving way to a feeling of insecurity and presents one of the major cards which we can play. What is more, they are beginning to make mistakes in their moves and cracks are appearing in this imaginary fabrication against us. [passage omitted]

[Kacarevic] How would you describe the new world order from our point of view?

[Jovanovic] It was said a long time ago that our house is in the middle of the road and that this is our misfortune. The picture itself has not changed, only the threats and those making them. But the lust for control over our territory remains. However, this lust is now being expressed in a completely changed set of circumstances, after the end of not only the cold war, but the whole structure of international relations that used to exist. This so-called new world order is more a desired goal than a defined framework. They want to dominate the world that fell apart on the lines of bipolarity and to implement such rules of behavior that will ensure dominance over a longer period of time. They themselves still cannot agree on how to go about this. I would say that they are facing elements of disorder rather than a new order. These elements do not help unity, but they do indicate that it is going to be very hard to ensure common interests among the victors in the breakups that have happened these past years.

America, as the only world power, is trying to implement dominance through regional powers. Since it likes to impose a pattern on the world and politics, today it thinks of the earlier regional powers as subpowers [pod-sile] in its rule over the world. In this way, they have started to define the pillars of this new world order, which in our area are represented by Germany and Turkey. What is interesting is that it is not the EC that has ambitions to be an equal partner with America in world relations and the dominating factor in Europe.

On a wider scale, we have Japan in this role. They are probably counting on Brazil and the oil-rich nucleus of the Muslim countries to support this power.

To support the countries designated for this role and to control peace, stability and the current balance of power, America must pay a certain price. In our case, this means recognizing certain specific interests that these countries have in this territory. In Germany's case, it primarily means a successful and complete control of the Danube basin. Therefore, all the countries in the Danube basin and all those that gravitate towards the Danube, should

be under the substantial and if possible, permanent political, economic and other control of Germany. The Danube has become even more significant for Germany and Europe since the opening of the Rhine-Main-Danube Canal. In a certain way, this goal is being realized. We are the exception in all this and this explains, among other things, why we are being put under pressure and why we are not going to be able to shake it off easily, unless we succeed in influencing the present balance of power in our area.

Meanwhile, Germany has succeeded in developing and strengthening its position in this part of Europe, so that it can continue realizing this goal through intermediaries. It no longer needs to engage itself directly as was necessary during the first phase of Yugoslavia's breakup. [passage omitted]

[Kacarevic] What is the most important thing for our foreign policy at this point?

[Jovanovic] The most important thing is to persevere with our main course, which entails defending principles and our vital state and national interests. In everything else we can devise various alternative projects of political activity and widen the space for rational compromises. However, there is no justification for sacrificing what has been inherited from earlier generations and what represents the very essence of a nation's and state's existence for a momentary lull.

We believe that the world is not hostile and that we do not have specific enemies, not even natural ones, and that all the countries and factors which influence our circumstances are by definition our potential friends. Of course, it is all a matter of interests. Now we are at the farthest point and moving toward the other farthest point entails a long and complex journey. However, this journey is not impossible and what is most important is that we have no alternative. We are perfectly aware of this and we are considering all the possibilities which will enable us successfully to complete this journey.

[Jovanovic] Especially once we have overcome the present difficult moment and position into which they have pushed us. It is important that we get rid of emotional charges and that we create a wide basis for national agreement when it comes to vital national and state interests and foreign policy. No country has ever managed to survive or to realize its national and state interests without having a national consensus on foreign policy. There are very few countries in the world today that do not have this consensus. We seem to be the only exception.

[Kacarevic] Can you tell us something a little more detailed about the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia's relations with Russia?

[Jovanovic] We have always had good relations with Russia, even when it had no special interest in stressing or using these good relations.

Since the elections, we have developed a diplomatic offensive for peace which has already yielded certain results and which has been accepted and estimated as being positive by most foreign factors. This applies especially to Russia, which on several occasions has not only lent support to our efforts, but has, within the so-called concept of world powers, started to insist on a more balanced policy by the international community toward the Yugoslav crisis, especially in Bosnia. Moreover, it has started to pave the way for the lifting of the sanctions. Meanwhile, we have developed substantial contacts at all levels of Russian society, not only official ones, but also within unofficial structures. This suits the long-term needs of our peoples, regardless of political booms.

It has become evident that the greater part of Russian society was totally unaware of the elementary facts about Serbia, the Serbian people and their national and state goals. That is why, at a certain point, it was possible to convince the Russian people of certain obscure theories about the essentially evil nature of the Serbs and their dishonorable intentions towards other peoples. This was a very painful realization for us and our public, because we had been living with the conviction that something like this could not possibly come from the most numerous of all Slavic peoples. This happened because in past decades we had neglected to work on bringing our peoples closer together and warning them. We believe that the Russian people will soon free themselves of the influence of this palpable propaganda, which was developed and is still being developed against us in the most powerful propaganda and political centers in the world.

The contacts we are currently making have helped the Russian people finally to realize that the greatest and only victim of the conflicts in the Balkans, which are the consequence of general conflicts and the political aggression on the former Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, are the Serbian people and that this remains the primary political fact in the present crisis. We believe that this realization will figure strongly in the future policy of the Russian Government and that this will greatly influence the picture others have of us and the attitudes of international institutions such as the United Nations or the CSCE in respect to the Yugoslav crisis.

[Kacarevic] Do you think that the Russians will eventually request a lifting or at least an easing of the sanctions imposed on us?

[Jovanovic] There are indications of this, there is pressure and requests from the grassroots of Russian society, but I believe that these requests could easily come from official bodies as well, because the realization of the terrible hypocrisy of the policy conducted by the leading players in the Yugoslav crisis is such that no country which believes in being objective can allow itself to support and follow such a policy. On the other hand, the Muslim and Croatian forces involved in the Yugoslav crisis primarily support the continuation and spreading of the war. They have removed their masks to such an

extent that no new clothing can protect them and their helpers abroad. That is why not only Russia, but many other countries as well, will start protesting loudly. [passage omitted]

[Kacarevic] What can be said of the new American Administration in view of what it has done in its first few days?

[Jovanovic] The best thing is that so far it has not made any decisive announcements and has successfully resisted the incredible pressures within the country itself from those centers of power who have established themselves as being the legitimate instruments that caused the breakup of Yugoslavia and the leaders of the racist campaign against the Serbian people. Let us not forget the fact that certain leading American publications are insisting that the new administration should soon announce that it is strengthening the policy initiated by the former administration. These pressures are such that very few people could successfully resist them over a longer period of time.

We can only wait and believe that this administration will resist these pressures and will conduct a policy based on facts, common sense and foreign interests in peace and security in the world. For this policy, America can find the best possible partner in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Serbian people. Our interests are just and unselfish because we ask for nothing more than what we grant to others and we want to achieve them through legal and political means. The series of wars in Yugoslavia has resulted from the fact that others, both in Yugoslavia and around it, did not acknowledge other people's rights and they abused these rights and the lives of that part of our people who live outside the territory of today's Yugoslavia.

Opposition To Boycott Assembly Sessions

LD0802174493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1544 GMT 8 Feb 93

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 8 Feb (TANJUG)—Representatives of the Democratic Movement of Serbia [DEPOS] will not attend Federal and Serbian Assembly sessions before the Constitutional Courts makes a ruling on the amended Serbian law on the election of deputies in the Federal Assembly. This was revealed at a DEPOS press conference held in Belgrade today.

DEPOS spokesman Vladeta Jankovic stressed that DEPOS was duty-bound to restore the voters' right to have their representatives in the Chamber of Republics of the Federal Assembly. [passage omitted]

Jankovic said that a need had arisen for DEPOS to be reorganized and that a new body was formed—the Presidium—which would deal with daily political topics and specifically with parliamentary issues.

The Presidium members are: the chairman and a member of the Serbian Renaissance Movement, the

chairman and a member of the Democratic Party of Serbia, the chairman of the New Democracy-Movement for Serbia [Nova demokratija-pokret za Srbiju], the chairman of the Serbian Liberal Party [Srpska liberalna stranka], and three independent members of DEPOS.

Matija Beckovic, Vuk Draskovic, and Vojislav Kostunica will chair the work of the Presidium for two months each. The DEPOS Council remains the supreme body of authority, and it will continue to deal with strategic issues, Jankovic said.

Rubber Industry Hardest Hit by UN Sanctions

LD0902105793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0147 GMT 9 Feb 93

[Text] Nis, 9 Feb (TANJUG)—Last year and at the beginning of this year, the largest domestic producer of car tires, Tigar from Pirot, recorded the highest ever level of layoffs in its workforce.

Only one in five of the 5,500 workers is now working. At the same time, tires production with which Tigar reached the world's top level, has been replaced by the production of peasant footwear.

Deputy General Manager Ljubisa Mitic says that the UN sanctions have hit the rubber industry hardest and have caused his factory to lose \$50 million. This is the value of Tigar's annual exports to the U.S. and European markets.

The production of tires, which accounts for 80 percent of production, has been brought to a complete halt this year because the factory cannot import raw and production materials.

Only plant for the production of peasant footwear, balls, and boots, which account for only 10 percent of Tigar's total capacity, are currently working.

Lawlessness, Crime in Serbia Alarming

93BA0530A Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 22 Jan 93 pp 32-33

[Article by Svetlana Djurdjevic-Lukic and Slobodan Ikonc: "Repression: The State in a State of Banditry"]

[Text] The Belgrade chief of police is saying that "we anticipate a wave of violence greater than we have had up to now. This is objectively anticipated. We must tell the public this to prepare them." All of this less than a month after the statement just before New Year's by the new-old President of the Republic Slobodan Milosevic that "the three tasks of our policy that have the highest priority include the safety and security of the public, the fight against crime and corruption.... We cannot allow anyone's tyranny to take control in our country, but we must guarantee that the law and only the law prevails in this country."

In the meantime, lawlessness is spreading, generating instability, fear, and insecurity. Aside from the rise of conventional crime in the form of unsolved murders, grand larceny, burglaries, armed hit-and-run attacks, street violence, illegal trade, and untaxed business operation, the president of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] is being calumniated in public places, and his advisers, along with other "foreign agents and spies" are being threatened with arrest; and indirect means are being used to harass independent media such as Studio B; personnel are being laid off at Radio-TV Serbia in order to eliminate those who think differently, those who think independently, and those who are professionals. The health service and education are being threatened with blacklisting, and the appointment of new general directors is causing disruption in collectives. From preschool institutions to the universities, there is fear because of uncertain subsistence, and obedience is being imposed as the only desirable model of behavior.

Rhetoric About the Law-Governed State

"The government's behavior ever since 1990 has been like the swinging of a pendulum. When it felt strong, it narrowed the space for free public activity, but occasionally, under pressure, it was forced to go on the defensive and to relent a little. But, using the repressive apparatus it inherited, it has continued to hold everything in its own hands. A highly centralized state has been created through the new Constitution; the already powerful police system has been further centralized, economic resources have been centralized.... This kind of narrowing and concentration of authority in every form has made the state so powerful that it can continue to consolidate power in order to achieve the unconditional obedience of society. It seems that now after the election preparations are being made to shut down quite seriously every opportunity of monitoring the government and at independently establishing and operating social groups and organizations," says Dr. Ilija Vujacic of the School of Political Science at Belgrade University.

There is constant talk about the formation of a law-governed state, but in essence it is still ideological and party-oriented. The judicial system has been placed under inviolable control. Just a few months ago, all the judges and prosecutors were subjected to the reappointment process, and this was done under altogether irregular conditions.

"There is nothing like it anywhere in the world: For a year, the judges were left uncertain and suffered the tortures of novices. The selection was made primarily on the basis of moral-political fitness, not on the basis of professional competence and experience and, most important, the honesty of those who are to hold that office. From the standpoint of the highest standards of civilization and humanism, this is disastrous. The general dissatisfaction with the courts even on the inside is the best evidence of that," says Dr. Vladan Vasiljevic, scientific adviser in the Institute for Criminological and Sociological Research.

It is also the opinion of Dr. Andrej Mitrovic, modern history professor in the School of Philosophy at Belgrade University, that the law-governed state is being tacitly cast aside or figures only in rhetoric.

"When a law-governed state is referred to in rhetoric, what is meant is a state in which, first, laws are created as the regime sees fit, and second, those laws are honored only insofar as they do not hinder the moves of the regime."

We are thus witnesses of daily manipulation of the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia as well. The most obvious example that the elders who wrote it consider it their own property, which they can adapt to the needs of the moment, is the disregard of the explicit provision of the Constitution (Article 86, Paragraph 8) under which the president of the republic may not hold party office at the same time.

While some laws are being violated, others are incomplete and result in absurd situations. Anyone can be a deputy, because the law on election of people's deputies of Serbia, by contrast with Montenegro (the case of Ceko Dacevic), leaves open the possibility that even those subject to criminal prosecution and people under investigation can become members of the Assembly. Thus, the person who heads a slate submitted by a group of citizens in Kosmet, although he is even the target of international criminal prosecution, talks openly in the newspapers here about the work of his detective agency concerning a loan: "A man has his papers in order, but he cannot exercise his right. In such a case, we work that out for him." Or concerning the warfare in Bijeljina: "I surrounded the garrison with my own private armored units...."

A Devastated Society

Serbia's public prosecutor had a duty to run a check on whether the requirements of the law had been met for the political activity of certain parties and individuals, and the court was supposed to pronounce the final opinion. In the words of Dr. Vasiljevic, the prosecutor did not do this, because a party bigwig held that office, not a person who is an expert in that vocation.

"It is no wonder, then, that the leader of one party very close to the government and highly esteemed as a politician by the current president of the Serbian state can make statements to the effect that if he becomes a minister, he will take far-reaching steps in the direction of abetting the war, the conflict, and everything which the official policy is supposedly combating, and at the same time no one made an issue to dispute the legitimacy of his party or of his questionable exercise of the immunity of the people's deputy," Mr. Vasiljevic said.

"We live in a devastated society. This is a society in which normal activities, the economy above all, are not functioning, and we have on the stage a politics which is showing a tendency to replace all of society's other functions," Professor Mitrovic says.

The economic embargo and the war that surrounds us have strengthened and accelerated economic crimes. The illegal transactions whereby the blockade is breached yield surplus profits which the government is not privy to or pretends that it is not. It even goes so far that one of the magicians with private capital did not hesitate to say "that the war makes sense so long as it yields a profit."

As the economy is going to ruin, private banks are springing up on all sides, the origin of their founding and initial capital unclear. Nowhere in the world could such banks be formed and gain legal status. At the same time, we have warnings to the effect that if these banks go bankrupt, their customers are left without their deposits. The government allows their operation, but knows in advance that the savings depositors are not protected. This did not bother one high official of the incumbent party (B. Cricevic), who at the celebration of one such bank (Dafiment Banka) said that this was the national bank of Serbia.

The More Police, the More Crime

The example of Mr. Zarija Martinovic shows the extent to which the officials do not stick by their public statements. He made a public promise (in a press conference) that the settlement agency would investigate the entire case of the shortage of cash and make a report to the public. To this day, we have not received it.

"In the old system, crime was under the complete control of politics, which made use of it only occasionally, when it wanted to do something in which it did not want to get involved itself. Now, crime will be controlling politics, because it is bound up with war profiteering and paramilitary formations whose leading figures infiltrate politics. The government itself will become a hostage to dubious capital, dubious military forces, and dubious social groupings," says Dr. Ilija Vujacic.

Those who are easily and quickly piling up money do not want a change of this atmosphere, a legal system, or progressive taxation. So they are not proponents of democratic trends. Those who are on the edge of survival are usually ready to follow big promises and support the one who has control of the machinery. That is what has kept this government afloat, and the big question is the extent to which it will be able to control the situation and avoid getting into a position of being controlled itself by criminal groupings which will be driving it to work to their advantage, making use of the inherited machinery.

How is one to explain the paradoxical situation in which we have one policeman for every 200 inhabitants, while in the West a number of policemen one-fifth as great is considered optimal, and still our society has been totally criminalized? In all of this, the police have immense powers, there is no public oversight, and that opens up the possibility of abuse. The new credentials of members of the MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs], including auxiliary police, state, for example, the authority without a court order to enter someone's dwelling or

other premises and make a search, to carry firearms and use them, to make use of someone's means of transportation...." To be sure, "under the conditions established by law," but those conditions are not stated in the credentials. The penalties for abuses are not stated in the law, but only in the Instructions for Personnel of the MUP, which are not accessible to the public.

"The procedure that is dominant in the world is not respected. Certain regulations are even utterly opposite from international standards. For instance, interrogation without a lawyer being present," says Dr. Dobrivoje Radovanovic, director of the Institute for Criminological and Sociological Research.

"General human values, such as civil rights and liberties, the truth as such, have been put in jeopardy. The question of human rights has for all practical purposes been pushed aside in the incumbent party, and in that other party this is explicit. At the same time, there is manipulation with patriotism and the general Serbian interest," Professor Mitrovic noted.

Absolute Control

The expectations that political control would be on the decline have not been realized. To be sure, one can freely express himself and right in public, but there are various means of intimidation and pressure—from the brandishing of a pistol on the street to the forcible eviction of peasants just because they belong to another nationality. There are attacks on individuals and property, but the government does not react even though its principal purpose is precisely to protect individuals and their property.

"We are losing the institutions of a free society which had begun to develop since the end of the eighties. Control is being exercised in the direction of a further forcible homogenization of society around one model of authority. Autonomy is only apparent, because freedom of expression is being cramped by self-control out of fear of repression, and the result will be that we will have only a state that controls everything, and there will be no free society. We are moving toward an egalitarian system, because the only way of getting out of the crisis—reform of the federal government and democratic parties—has failed, and there remains only rationed consumption and distribution, and that is a mechanism for further consolidation of authority, because absolute control of the state is attained in that case," Mr. Vujacic said.

Professor Mitrovic, who is very familiar with this century's totalitarian systems, believes that the situation we have resembles the phenomena of a society in crisis following World War I in Italy and Germany at the time of the great economic crisis in Germany or more recently in Lebanon.

"This awakens the thought that a totalitarian regime with possible fascist content is springing up. However, I would not be quick to repeat historical names. Here, everything nevertheless comes down to saving the

present government, whose social function obviously comes down to the survival of the bureaucratic stratum and offering the fictitious impression of protecting the little guy. I think that the comparison with Latin American regimes, however reluctant we might be to make it, does appear to be something that should be taken into account. That is, particular antidemocratic forms are arising in our country which link up leftist totalitarian and right-wing chauvinistic tendencies. I think that these are particular manifestations of a particular social crisis."

A kind of monster.

Weekly Charges West With 'Propaganda Campaign'

93BA0541A Belgrade INTERVJU in Serbo-Croatian
8 Jan 93 pp 3-5

[Article by Branislav Ivanovic, professor: "A Million Inhabitants 'Disappeared'"]

[Text] It is difficult to combat lies which are being continually reproduced and which are full of a cleverly conceived propaganda campaign. They are swarming from all sides, and while one is being refuted, usually quite late, dozens of new ones spring up. The main centers for anti-Serb propaganda, which are generating those lies on a large scale, are located in Germany, the Vatican, and Austria.

The purpose of this article is to point up the intolerable abuse of statistics which these centers practice systematically in collaboration with the authorities of the secessionist republics of the former Yugoslavia, and also the fact that the rest of the Western press has been accepting the false statistical data of those centers without any verification whatsoever and has been passing it on.

One can conclude from a detailed analysis that all those lies are aimed at deceiving the world public and representing to it that there are considerably fewer Serbs and considerably more of the other Yugoslav nationalities and minorities than indicated by the official census figures.

The objectives of this campaign of lies are obvious. Some of them would be these:

To show that none of the inhabitants of the former Yugoslavia is any longer in favor of Yugoslavia and in that way to justify the violent sundering and scattering of Yugoslavia.

To form from the actual Croatia, which consists of four regions scattered over Yugoslavia, a compact geographic entity by adding extensive Serbian areas, in order to meet the first condition for setting up a state.

To artificially create from Bosnia-Herzegovina [B-H] a quasi-state with predominance and absolute authority of the Muslim community (which comprises only 39.5 percent of the total population of Bosnia-Herzegovina).

To make another independent small state from Macedonia, with an ethnically undefined people and without any economic potential whatsoever.

To tear away from Serbia Kosovo, Metohija, Vojvodina, and Sandzak.

And in future, at the end, to manipulate all those completely separate and helpless parts any way they like. Then all combinations will be possible.

Because in the nature of things space is limited, we will mention only a few of these statistical lies and deceptions, but they certainly are the most essential ones. They are these: Systematic concealment of 1.2 million inhabitants of the former Yugoslavia who declared themselves ethnically to be Yugoslavs. False portrayal of the ethnic composition of the population of Vukovar, Osijek, Sarajevo, and Banja Luka. False representation of the statistical geographic map of the former Yugoslavia of the agency AFP (AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE).

Ignoring the Yugoslavs

In the 1981 Census, 1,219,045 inhabitants of what was then Yugoslavia chose "Yugoslav" as their nationality, thereby rejecting any other nationality. If in Broz' Yugoslavia great pressure had not been exerted for decades on individuals not to declare themselves as Yugoslavs (for a long time, this was even prohibited, up until 1971), that category would probably have been several times greater. It was particularly proscribed in Croatia, not only by the Croatian communist authorities, but also by Ustasha elements in the country and abroad.

Declared Yugoslavs were against any secession and in favor of remaining in Yugoslavia. That is why in Croatia, and later in B-H as well, they were looked upon as the chief enemies of independence, and as such were unfit.

In spite of all this harassment, threats, and prohibitions, the number of declared Yugoslavs is great—there are more of them than inhabitants of Montenegro (584,310), and a bit fewer than the number of Macedonians (1,339,729)!

The enormous majority of declared Yugoslavs are Serbs. So, wherever there are many Serbs, there are also many Yugoslavs, and where there are no Serbs, there are no Yugoslavs. Thus, in Slovenia, for example, with a population of 1,891,864, there are only 42,182 Serbs and 26,263 declared Yugoslavs.

Croatia in 1981 had 379,057 declared Yugoslavs, or 8.2 percent of the total population of AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] Croatia. For the reasons given, there are almost no Croats among the declared Yugoslavs.

At the same time, there were 326,316 declared Yugoslavs in Bosnia-Herzegovina, that is 7.9 percent of the total population of B-H.

It is an astounding fact that in the Western press this sizable population category of the former Yugoslavia is never mentioned. Is that because it is the tendency of that press to show that no one any longer wants to live in Yugoslavia and that the number of Serbs is 15 percent less than what it is?

Those 1.2 million declared Yugoslavs are not mentioned on the well-known and often quoted map of Yugoslavia published by the well-known world agency AFP (Infografia-Francia Nallier), but it does mention and emphasize the Hungarians and Croats in Vojvodina, the Turks and Gypsies in Macedonia, or the Albanians in Montenegro, all of which taken together represent barely 47 percent of the total number of declared Yugoslavs.

Omission of particular statistical data may be just as great a statistical deception as when false statistical figures are offered.

Taken all in all, AFP has through its map, which many newspapers in the world have reproduced (for example, JOURNAL DE GENEVE on 26 August 1992), has improperly participated in propaganda against the new Yugoslavia.

Vukovar, Osijek, Sarajevo

During the battles which were waged last year in Slavonia, the entire Western press persistently asserted that Vukovar and Osijek were Croatian cities and that the civilian population that suffered was Croatian.

However, the truth is quite different. According to the 1981 Census, the population of Vukovar was 30.98 percent Serb, 21.18 percent declared Yugoslavs, and 37.14 percent Croats. In addition, according to that same census, the Serbs held 39.38 percent of all the arable land, the declared Yugoslavs 16.69 percent, and the Croats 35.03 percent.

Table 1 gives an overall statistical representation of Vukovar.

Table 1		
	In Percent	
	Population	Arable land
Vukovar		
Serbs + declared Yugoslavs	52.15	56.07
Croats	37.14	35.03

We should also note that throughout the entire course of the battles Vukovar was under Croat occupation and the battles ceased only when the Serbian forces liberated that city. It is easy to conclude who, then, could have carried out a massacre of the people of Vukovar, who in the majority were Serbs.

In Osijek in 1981, 17.97 percent of the population were Serbs, 11.25 percent were declared Yugoslavs, and 57.16

percent were Croats. However, the Serbs possessed 45.97 percent of the arable land, the declared Yugoslavs 17.91 percent, and the Croats only 32.76 percent. The explanation of this contradiction is that in World War II the Croats carried out genocide against the Serbian people in these areas, and that is why the number of Serbs in Osijek Opstina was radically reduced, while the farms of those Serbs who were killed remained the property of their heirs, who again are Serbs, so that the holdings of Serbian plowland remained at approximately the same level after the war.

Table 2 gives an overall statistical picture of Osijek.

Table 2		
	In Percent	
	Population	Arable land
Osijek		
Serbs + declared Yugoslavs	29.22	63.88
Croats	57.16	32.76

It is evident from this table that before World War II Osijek Opstina had a dominant Serb population and that even today almost 30 percent of the population of that opstina want to remain in Yugoslavia and are against the splintering of Yugoslavia.

Similar statistical lies are also being spread in what is being written about Bosnia-Herzegovina. First of all, in this dirty anti-Serb propaganda it is dishonest for the West, like Tito, to invent new nationalities. They have thus invented the Bosnian nationality, although Bosnia is only a geographic region inhabited by various nationalities. According to the Western press, the Bosnians, who are of the Muslim faith, are the demographic base of B-H, while the Serbs, Croats, and others are only ethnic minorities.

Mr. Antoine Bochard accordingly writes in JOURNAL DE GENEVE on 26 August 1992 that the Serbs came to Bosnia later, when, fleeing from the Turks, they hid in Bosnia and Croatia under protection of the Austrian Empire. Either esteemed Mr. Bochard is a very confused historian and a great ignoramus, or he is a perfidious spinner of historical lies!! After all, all those lies have an anti-Serb bias.

As for Sarajevo, the Western press asserts like a parrot that it is a Muslim city which the imperialists of a Greater Serbia want to capture. However, according to the 1981 Census, Sarajevo had 189,139 Muslims and 132,646 Serbs. It, of course, does not occur to anyone in the West to publish those figures. In four of the 10 Sarajevo opstinas, there are more Serbs than Muslims.

Today, most of Sarajevo is under Muslim authority, and now there are 60,000 terrorized and blockaded Serbs there. So, who, then, is doing most of the suffering there?

Finally, it is often written in the West that the Muslims and Croats represent the immense majority in Banjaluka, and that the Serbs are an insignificant minority terrorizing the rest.

The statistical figures, the only source of the truth, here again shed light on a situation that is quite the opposite. In the 1981 Census, Banjaluka had 93,389 Serbs, 31,347 declared Yugoslavs, 30,442 Croats, and 21,726 Muslims.

We should note that for centuries the Serbs have held a percentage of the nonarable land still greater than the arable land. This consists of forests and ravines bound up with the history of the Serbian people down through the centuries. That is where the Serbian refugees were located, and that is where the Serbian bands (chetas) roamed and fought the Hungarian, Ottoman, Austrian, and German occupiers.

The Map of AFP

I would not comment here on the bungled geographic map of the former Yugoslavia prepared by AFP's Infografia-Francia Nallier, because the purpose of this article is above all to expose the false statistical data which the Western press has been maliciously serving up every day to the world public. We will stick, then, just to the statistical figures with which the AFP map is abundantly decorated.

As to the figures pertaining to the former republics of the SFRY—Slovenia, Montenegro, and Macedonia—there are no particular remarks that can be made except that the number of Serbs in Macedonia has been consistently concealed ever since World War II. According to certain estimates, that number goes as high as 200,000, not 45,000, as indicated by the Macedonian Bureau of Statistics. However, the AFP map does not mention even those 45,000, but it does mention the 2.3 percent Gypsies and 2.1 percent Islamized Slavs.

In Croatia and B-H, AFP has "forgotten" that the demographic structures of those republics include a numerous category of declared Yugoslavs. That has seriously distorted those structures.

Sticking to the essential division of the population in today's crisis situation, i.e., the division into those who want to continue to live in Yugoslavia (Serbs, Montenegrins, and declared Yugoslavs) and those who want to leave (Croats and Muslims), the relevant structures are given in Tables 4 and 5. [as published]

Table 4. Bosnia-Herzegovina (according to the figures of the 1981 Census)

	Absolute Number	Percentage
Serbs	1,320,738	32.02
Montenegrins	14,114	0.34
Declared Yugoslavs	326,316	7.91
Croats	758,140	18.38
Muslims	1,630,033	39.52

Table 5. Croatia (according to the figures of the 1981 Census)

	Absolute Number	Percentage
Serbs	531,528	11.55
Declared Yugoslavs	379,057	8.24
Croats	3,454,614	75.08

In its representation of the demographic structures of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, AFP was not so much telling a lie as practicing a deception.

In the last census, Vojvodina had a population of 2,012,517. Of that, AFP shows on its map that the Serbs represent 55.4 percent, when actually they are 57.3 percent. Conversely, it says that the Hungarians represent 21.7 percent instead of 16.9 percent and the Croats 7.1 percent instead of 3.7 percent. Taking all in all, the mistake represents 10.1 percent of Vojvodina's total population.

On the AFP map with which we find fault, the statistical table pertaining to Serbia gives the figures in the following vertical order: Vojvodina, Serbia, Kosovo. Because Serbia proper is located geographically between Vojvodina and Kosovo, any uninformed reader will get the idea from the table of the AFP that these figures refer to Serbia proper rather than to the Republic of Serbia. This deception makes it appear that in Serbia proper the Serbs represent only 66 percent of the population, the Albanians 14 percent, and the Hungarians 4 percent, instead of 89.51 percent Serbs, 1.25 percent Albanians, and 0.12 percent Hungarians.

Finally, it is said of Kosovo that it has a population of 1.85 million, 90 percent of whom are Albanians.

According to the 1981 Census, Kosovo had a population of 1,584,440, 77.4 percent of whom are Albanians. Albanians did not participate in the 1991 Census for political reasons, so that we do not know how many there were in that year.

The Albanians are the last to be dissatisfied with the results of the 1981 Census, because the census-takers were mainly Albanian, the director of the Kosovo Bureau of Statistics, Mr. Emin Berisa, was an Albanian, and the census data did not go through the Serbian bureau, but went directly to the federal bureau for further processing. However, there have been numerous criticisms and complaints that the Albanian censustakers put pressure on the uplanders (Gorani), Gypsies, and Turks to declare themselves as Albanians and that they avoided and skipped over Serbian families.

Because they have always asserted that Albanians represent more than 90 percent in Kosovo, Western circles have intentionally made a mistake of 12.6 percent in the total size of the Kosovo population.

One of the first moral and professional obligations of any statistician is to be uncompromising in combating the abuse of statistics, especially when this is done for the purpose of political and warmongering propaganda. As soon as statistical data are shown on a large scale to consist of arbitrary and invented figures, no one will have any further use for the statistical profession.

For those reasons, an appeal should be made to all statistical institutions and all professional statisticians in the world to carefully monitor and check the statistical data published in the media and intervene whenever their professional conscience so dictates.

Kosovo

ATA Says Citizens 'Maltreated' in Arms Searches

AU0902123493 Tirana ATA in English 1129 GMT
9 Feb 93

[Report by ATA: "The Notorious Searches for Weapons Are Intensifying in Kosovo"]

[Text] Tirana, February 9 (ATA)—The political situation and security in the community of Decan [Decani] is tense and the Serbian military-police power carrying out the notorious action for arms searches in ever larger proportions. An expedition of 60 armed policemen, after it sieged the Grramacel village, it started house searches

recently. The same police expedition headed for the village Maznik. After 6 house searches, it arrested some of these families' members.

Police continued its violence on February 9. Scores of citizens were maltreated in Decan and in other villages of this commune. The arms searches are assuming ever larger proportions. They are seeking arms even from those who do not possess such. Arrests, maltreatments and home searches have become daily phenomena with the open aim of realising an ethnic cleansing in Kosovo. The presidency of the branch of the DLK [Democratic League of Kosovo] of this commune called on the population to overcome the situation through wisdom. It also appealed to the military-police power to halt repressions against the Albanians, whom, as the presidency of the branch of the DLK stressed, are and will always live in their territory, i.e. in Kosovo.

Serb Police Reportedly Mistreat Albanians

LD0902123993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in
Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 9 Feb 93

[Text] In several towns and villages in Kosovo, Serbian police have been calling on Albanians to surrender their weapons. The police have been mistreating Albanians and searching their homes, particularly in the municipalities of Pec and Decani, on the pretext of looking for weapons. An 82-year-old man was detained in Pristina on the grounds of possessing arms. For several hours Serbian police mistreated two female German citizens who had come to Kosovo because they are married to Albanians.